



BRISTOL.
View from Clifton Wood.

THE
HISTORY OF BRISTOL
CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL;

Biographical Notices

OF
EMINENT AND DISTINGUISHED NATIVES.

Urbs antiqua

Dives opum.

Like some renown'd Metropolis
With glittering Spires and Pinnacles adorn'd.

VOLUME I.

By **JOHN CORRY,**

Author of "A Satirical View of London," &c. &c.

Bristol:

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Work was originally projected by Mr. AGE, who proposed to publish it in Parts, and accordingly Part the First appeared in 1808. Six Parts, forming the first volume, were written by Mr. JOHN CORRY, a gentleman previously known to the public as the Author of several popular productions. In consequence, however, of Mr. AGE's bankruptcy, the work became the property of Mr. SHEPPARD, by whom application was made to the Author of this advertisement for its completion, by extending it to twelve parts, or two volumes, of which it was at first proposed the History should consist. The Author's fondness for topography in general, and the attention which he had given to that of his native city in particular, induced him, though with some degree of reluctance, to engage in the task. This was towards the close of the year 1809. From that period to the present, a portion of the leisure afforded by the stillness of the evening-hour, or by the recurrence of vacation-time, has occasionally been given to the History. Its progress was therefore, of necessity, slow, independently of impediments arising from circumstances over which the Author had no controul.

Of the manner in which the task has been executed, every Reader will determine for himself. The Author wishes it had been completed more to his own satisfaction, and regrets that several errors of the press have escaped correction, especially in the early part of his volume. For these in particular he solicits the reader's indulgence; and will only add, that in his opinion something will have been accomplished, if he has in any degree contributed to excite attention to a portion of knowledge which, at all times, is a source of innocent amusement, and frequently the spring of a pure and constantly recurring pleasure; for, by associating the recollection of the talents and the virtues of our ancestors with the places in which 'they had their being,' we are not only most delighted with the remembrance, but also most powerfully impelled to the imitation of their excellencies.

JOHN EVANS.


CHAPTER THE FIRST.

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THE HISTORY OF BRISTOL.

CHAPTER THE FIRST.



HISTORY, by presenting to the mind an authentic retrospect of the origin, progress, and vicissitudes of celebrated communities, affords an instructive gratification to human curiosity; and among the various records of the historic pen, perhaps none so strongly engages the attention as the topography of great cities, and the biography of eminent individuals. In order, therefore, to combine the advantages derivable from history in general, it may be expedient to give a concise narrative of the principal historical facts recorded in the annals of this island, especially those which have a more immediate connection with Bristol. This work will also be interspersed with short biographies of those illustrious characters, both ancient and modern, whose public zeal has contributed to the improvement, prosperity, and aggrandizement of this ancient city.

An historic sketch of the Aborigines of Britain, and a general view of the succession of public events, during the rise and progress of this powerful nation,

are, indeed, indispensably requisite for the complete elucidation of facts relative to our ancient commercial cities ; and the following work, by an adherence to authenticated records, will enable the reader to contemplate the gradual progress of our ancestors, from barbarism to civilization.

It is, indeed, the high privilege of history, to exhibit a retrospective view of mankind ; to present to the enquiring mind, a faithful representation of characters and manners which have long ceased to exist ; by an impartial portraiture, at once to reanimate the images of the great and the wise ; and thus, by a detailed series of important events, to conduct the student, through the vista of ages, to a retrospection of those interesting scenes, consecrated by the presence of our venerable ancestors.

Perhaps no nation recorded in the history of man, has a stronger claim to attention than Britain. This favorite residence of liberty, science, and virtue ; this island, which has been truly and emphatically denominated the empress of the ocean, at this moment displays whatever can gratify, inform, or dignify the human race. Happily isolated from those continental nations, who bow before martial usurpation, Britain sits secure amid her tributary waves. Her naval power, founded by the wisdom of the immortal Alfred ; promoted by the patriotism of Elizabeth ; and established in its present unparalleled strength by the House of Brunswick ; while it affords protection to our commerce and national independence, at the same time, hurls the lightning of liberty at the iron-crowned head of foreign despotism. It doubtless will be grateful to posterity, to survey, with a retrospective glance, the present unanimity and public spirit of a nation, which boldly asserts its dignity, and inviolable liberty, while the other states of Europe, by a retrogression into barbarism, relinquish their natural claims to freedom ; and, in all the degradation of vassalage, crouch before the footstool of a military adventurer.

May this happy island continue, through all successive ages, to realize the greatness, security, and independence, now enjoyed by the inhabitants ; and so admirably described by the poet in the following apostrophe :

“ Island of bliss ! amid the subject seas,
 “ That thunder round thy rocky coasts, set up,
 “ At once the wonder, terror, and delight
 “ Of distant nations, whose remotest shores
 “ Can soon be shaken by thy naval arm ;
 “ Not to be mov'd thyself, but each attempt
 “ Baffling, as thy hoar cliff the loud sea wave.”

Various have been the conjectures of antiquaries, respecting the original situation of Britain, and the state of its Aborigines. Their researches have not, however, clearly ascertained those facts ; and much ingenious disquisition has rather demonstrated the abilities of the writer, than given a satisfactory elucidation of the subject in question.

The situation of the island, its vicinity to the Continent, and the similarity of the opposite high coasts, have induced historians and poets to imagine that Britain was formerly separated from the Continent by some violent concussion of nature. A native antiquary has, with much ingenuity, proved that such an idea was merely the offspring of an effervescent imagination, adopted by romantic writers, for the embellishment of their productions. Having disproved this feasible hypothesis, by a series of reasons, equally cogent and satisfactory, this author contends that Britain has always been mentioned as an island, by the earliest tradition and historical records.

“ It has ever been,” says he, “ the glory and safety of Great Britain to be environed by the sea, and to command those waters that encompass it ; and, whilst other nations are subject to daily incursions, being separated only by rivers, hills,

or vallies, and imaginary lines, by turns one kingdom elbows out another ; but nature has set Britain such distinct bounds and limits, that its empire is preserved entire ; and, as it abounds in all things, both for the necessary delight, and support of man ; and needs not the world to sustain it, so was it always esteemed and called, *Notus Orbis*, and *Orbis Britannicus*, by reason of its greatness, and especially, separation from the Continent.

Brutus, or Bruto, a descendant of Eneas, is recorded by our ancient historians as the first King of Britain. He invaded this island with a number of Gauls and other adventurers, Anno Mundi 2850 ; and having conquered the Aborigines, who are described as a race of giants, he settled in the country, and founded London.†

Among his successors, Malmutius, King of Cornwall, was distinguished for his valour, success and wisdom. He subjugated the other provincial Kings, and was crowned Monarch of Britain, A. M. 3529, being the first British prince who was installed with the ceremonies of a coronation. On this occasion he wore a crown of gold, a sceptre, and other regal ornaments ; and his inauguration was accompanied with all the solemnity of pagan rites.‡

This monarch may be honoured with the title of the first legislator of Britain ; and his code was termed the Malmutian laws. They were first translated out of the British language into Latin, by Gildas ; and, afterwards, out of Latin into the Saxon, by Alfred the Great. Malmutius is also recorded as the founder of Malmsbury (which probably took its name from that prince) and two neighbouring castles, Lacoc, and Tetbury.§ But the most memorable transaction in his reign, was the formation of four great roads that ran across Britain. This event is recorded by a British antiquary, with an exactness that has every mark of authenticity ;

* Sammes's *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata*, p. 36.

† Hollinshead's *British History*, p. 9.

‡ Sammes's *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata*, p. 172.

§ *Idem*.

and is the more remarkable, as one of these roads is described as leading to a direct communication with Bristol.

“ Dunwallen (or Malmutius) King of Britayne, about 483 years before the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ, seeing the subjects of his realme to be in sundry wyse opprest, by theeves, and robbers, as they traveyled to and fro ; and being willing (so much as in him lay,) to redresse these inconveniences, caused his whole kingdom to be surveyed, and then, commanding some principall wayes to be made, which should lead such as traveyled into all partes thereof, from sea to sea ; he gave sundry large privileges unto the same, whereby they became safe, and were much frequented.

“ The *fosse* goeth not directly, but slopewise, over the greatest part of this island ; beginning at Totnesse in Devonshire, where Brute sometymes landed, or (as Ranulphus sayeth) which is more likely, at the point of Cornwall ; though the eldest writers do seem to note the contrary. Frome hence it goeth thorow the middle of Devonshire, and Somersetshire, and cometh to BRISTOW, from whence it runneth manifestly to Sudbury market, Tetbury, and so forth, holdeth on as you go almost to the middle way betwene Gloucester and Cirencester, straight as a line, until you come to Cirencester itself. From Cirencester it goeth by Chepingnorton to Coventrey, Newarke, and so to Lincolne, overthwart Watling Streate, where, by general consent of all writers, (except Alfred of Beverley,) it is sayde to have an end.*”

After the demise of Malmutius, his two sons Belinus and Brennus, being left co-heirs of the kingdom, reigned conjointly, as Kings of Britain. Belinus was the founder of several cities and castles, and Brennus enlarged and improved Bristol, which was thenceforward denominated Caer Bren, as a public memorial

* Hollinshead's British History, p. 36.

of his munificence. It is evident, however, that Bristol had existed, as a place of some consequence, prior to the reign of the brothers; for it is mentioned as one of the towns to which a communication was opened by the Fosse, one of the principal roads made during the reign of their predecessor. But Brennus, in imitation of his brother, who improved many places in his dominions, contributed, by his royal patronage, to the prosperity of Bristol; and, as a proof that the account is not merely traditionary, antique statues of the two brothers are placed, one on each side of St. John's gate, in this city.

A further corroboration of the fact is obtainable from the ancient names of Bristol. It is classed as the seventeenth city, among the twenty-eight, which are recorded by Gildas, and Ninnius, to have existed when the Romans conquered Britain; and is distinguished by the following names. *Caer Oder Nant Badon*.—*Oder*.—*Caer Bren*.—*Venta Belgarum*, and *Brightstow*.^{*} Among these names, *Caer Bren* has a manifest reference to the name of Brennus the reputed founder of Bristol, and seems to establish its claim to high antiquity.

Several antiquaries have written on the etymology of Bristol. The origin of its name is undoubtedly British, *Caer Brito* signifying the City of the Britons. An antiquary, whose authority is held in high estimation by the learned, is of opinion, that Bristol, in the early ages, was denominated the City *Odera*, and that *Nante Badon*, (i. e. in the vale of Bath,) was afterwards added to it, because that city was but eleven miles distant. *Nante* signifies a valley in which a river flows, and therefore it should be read *Nante Avon*, from that river.[†]

A native antiquary, with commendable public spirit, has refuted the assertions of the learned Camden, against the antiquity of Bristol. “Mr. Camden,” says he, “confesses that Ninnius, about eight hundred years before he published his

^{*} Hollinshead's British History.

[†] Leland.

Britannia, (i. e. some years before the rise of the Saxon monarchy,) wrote a chronicle, in which he gives a catalogue of the renowned British cities in that age; and, amongst others, mentions *Caer Brito*, which Mr. Camden allows to be Bristol; and this Ninnius was an author of character and credit, and, as such, is cited by Mr. Camden on all occasions; and particularly, for the ancient name of Bristol, in the paragraph relating to that place; and yet, which is hardly credible, this very learned gentleman, styled the Prince of Antiquaries, and standard of the Criticks, does, against all established rules of argument, gravely, deliberately, positively, and in the very same page, give it as his opinion, without the least evidence in the world to support it, that Bristol rose in the declension of the Saxon government, and for no other reason, that I can see, but, because he had luckily hit on the two Saxon radicals, *bright* and *stowe*, signifying a bright, illustrious place, that when put together, form a word of nearly the same sound as *Bristow*.”*

Ptolemy, who wrote in the beginning of the second century, and was the first geographer who described the British isles, says, “ Under the Dobuni lie the Belgæ, and the cities Ilchester, Bath, and *Venta*,” or *Bristol*, according to the interpretation of Leland, who is of opinion, that *Venta* was formerly that city which the Saxons afterwards called Brightstowe. Hence Bristol was a capital city of the Belgæ, in the second century, and, if we trace it to the time of the royal founder, its origin, as appears from historic records, may boast the venerable antiquity of two thousand years, a period nearly equal to that of the existence of London itself.

Camden himself mentions Bristol as a celebrated city in the time of the Saxons. He says, “ it is called by the Britons *Caer Oder Nant Badon*, (i. e. the city *Odera* in *Badon Valley*.) In the catalogue of ancient cities, it is named *Caer Brito*, and in the Saxon it is *Brightstowe*, (i. e. a famous place.)†

* Hooke's Dissertation on the Antiquity of Bristol, p. 19.

† Camden's Britannia, p. 74.

Mr. Hooke concludes his Dissertation with the following cogent observations :
 “ If any credit is to be given to the positive testimonies of Ninnius and Ptolemy ; any regard paid to the opinions of Leland, Lambarde, Dr. Gale, Sir Symonds D'Ewes, and all the eminent antiquaries, except two ; if oral and written tradition, supported by *antique memorials*, still remaining on the spot ; if circumstantial and comparative evidences, corresponding with those of a more positive kind ; and just conclusions drawn from the whole, be of any force, I believe I may venture to affirm that Bristol, for eminence and antiquity, is, next to London and York, the most considerable city in England.”*

THE LIFE OF KING BRENNUS, THE FOUNDER OF BRISTOL.

Brennus, the original benefactor of Bristol, stands highly conspicuous among those ancient heroes, whose adventures and achievements have been recorded by the historian.

At the commencement of his political career, Brennus, by a partition of Britain with his brother Belinus, was put in possession of Albania, now called Scotland ; while his brother reserved to himself the fertile and extensive territory on this side of the river Humber. After a reign of six years, however, Brennus became dissatisfied with his portion of the island, and resolved on the subjugation of the whole ; and, while his ambition thus incited him to aim at absolute sovereignty, he was advised by his courtiers to solicit the aid of Elfin, King of Norway.

Accordingly, he made a voyage to that country, and was received with every demonstration of friendship by the Norwegian prince, who entered into an alliance, which was still further strengthened by the matrimonial union of his daughter with our adventurer.

* Hooke's Dissertation on the Antiquity of Bristol.

Meanwhile, Belinus received intelligence of the hostile project of his brother; in consequence of which he invaded and took possession of Albania. To increase the misfortunes of Brennus, the royal navy of Norway, with an army on board, intended for the conquest of Britain, was attacked and defeated by Guilthdacus King of Denmark, the former suitor of the Princess of Norway. This defeat was much aggravated by the capture of the bride, and the difficulty with which Brennus himself escaped.

The fleet of the victorious King of Denmark, being driven by a tempest upon the coast of Northumberland, was taken by Belinus; and, soon afterwards, Brennus, having refitted his ships, invaded Albania, with a powerful host; but, at a wood, then known by the denomination of Callater,* he was met and overcome by his brother. The unfortunate Brennus, accompanied by only twelve of his retinue, sought refuge in Gallia; and Seginus, King of Armorica, or Brittany, received him with hospitality and munificence.

The British prince, who was as remarkable for personal comeliness and courtesy of manners, as elevation of sentiment, soon ingratiated himself with the sovereign of Armorica, who gave him his only daughter in marriage, and, with the concurrence of his nobles, decreed, that, if his son-in-law should fail of male issue, he should himself be admitted lawful heir of the crown. Brennus continued for some years at the court of Seginus, enjoying the social delights of conjugal affection and friendship; but the listlessness of indolence was irksome to his active and enterprising mind; and the demise of his father-in-law at length enabled him to realize his ideas of aggrandizement.

Soon after his investiture with supreme power, he raised an army of Gauls, invaded Britain, and marched against his brother Belinus, who, apprised of his

* Now Callader.

landing, advanced to meet him at the head of a powerful host. But at the very crisis when the hostile armies were drawn out in array, awaiting the signal to begin the conflict, Conwenna, the mother of the rival brothers, interposed, and, by the irresistible eloquence of maternal persuasion and tears, effected a reconciliation.

Brennus was now admitted, by his brother, to a full participation of regal power in his native country ; and, by many acts of munificence, especially the erection of forts for the defence of the state, he established his claim to the gratitude of posterity. It was at this period that he perpetuated his name as the founder of Bristol,* and several other towns.

But ambition incited him to new projects for the extension of his power ; and, with the consent of his brother, he made preparations for a descent on Gallia, to effect the conquest of that extensive country. In this enterprize he was completely successful ; and, pursuing his ambitious designs, he, with the aid of the Gauls, crossed the Alps, and invaded Italy. Having besieged and taken the city of Chiusi in Tuscany, he proceeded in his victorious march towards Rome, then the capital of the world. He was opposed by a Roman army, within twelve miles of the city, and, after a desperate conflict, remained master of the field.—Advancing with the enthusiasm of a victor, he marched to the gates of Rome ; part of the citizens retreated to the capitol, which was well supplied with military stores and provisions ; but the Senators, in their robes, continued firmly at their post.

On entering the Senate-house, the Gauls were struck with awe at the majestic and venerable appearance of the Senators, who were seated in their chairs in silence. For a few minutes the victors contemplated those ancient fathers with the utmost reverence, conceiving them to be the gods of the Romans ; but one of the Gauls having presumed to stroke the beard of Marius

Papyrius, was struck by that senator with a staff. The resentful Gaul slew the Roman, and this act operated as a signal for the assassination of the senators, who were all slain by those pitiless barbarians. The city was given up to the plunder and spoliation of the soldiers, but Brennus was slain during the siege of the capitol, and the Gauls were afterwards defeated and dispersed by Camillus, who was recalled from exile to head the Roman army. It must, even at this hour, afford gratification to the natives of this island, to know that a Briton conquered Rome many ages before the Romans invaded Britain.*

Commerce was introduced into Britain many ages prior to the Roman invasion. Indeed, we have historic authority† for affirming that the name of the island is of Phœnician derivation. Four hundred and fifty years before the Christian era, the British isles, including those of Scilly, were discovered by the Tyrians; who, having extended their commerce to all the shores of the Mediterranean, at length passed the streights of Gibraltar, in quest of new discoveries and sources of traffick. The ships sent on this voyage of discovery, were under the command of Hercules, who, having built several cities on the streights, and taken possession of the islands of Tartassus, Erythea, and Gades,‡ with a considerable part of the continent of Spain and Africa, proceeded on his voyage into the western seas, and discovered the Scilly islands, and the coast of Cornwall. Finding that the country abounded in tin mines, the Phœnicians named it Bratanac, or *the land of tin*. They also called this island Alpin, or Albion, which, in the Phœnician language, signifies a high mountain; and in the country of the Silures, now South Wales, there are many high cliffs called Pens, such as Penmanmawr, &c.§

* The reader, who is desirous to obtain a more full detail of the exploits of Brennus, is referred to the works of Hollinshead, Vitus, and Sir J. Price.

† Strabo.

‡ Now Minorca, Majorca, and Yvica.

§ Sammes's Brit. Antiqua Illustrata. p. 49.

When the Phœnicians landed in this island, they found it populous ; and, like judicious adventurers, instead of having recourse to the sword for their establishment, they opened an amicable commercial intercourse with the inhabitants, who permitted them to build forts and castles along the coast for the protection of their trade.

The articles of commerce furnished by the Britons, were tin and lead ; which they exchanged with the strangers for earthen ware, salt, and brazen vessels.*

This early commercial intercourse, which was probably the origin of the present wealth and glory of Britain, called into exertion the ingenuity of our ancestors ; who improved their shipping after the Phœnician model, and discovered the art of manufacturing tin and potters' clay into a variety of utensils.

The Phœnicians concealed their discovery of this island from the other maritime nations ; and, when a Roman bark was dispatched to discover the destination of one of their vessels bound for Britain, the pilot of the merchantman ran her ashore, and, at his return to Tyre, was indemnified by the state.† At this period, the inhabitants of the western part of Britain had made little progress in the arts of civilization. They are described as wearing black garments : the men being clothed in long coats, descending to their ancles. Their feet and legs were defended with a kind of buskin, open at the toes ; and they walked with staves, like the furies in tragedy.‡

The trade of the port of Bristol was probably very considerable, even during the voyages of the Phœnicians to the western shores of Albion ; for its situation was favorable to the supply of the Silures, or people of South Wales, with those foreign articles imported from Tyre ; and considerable emolument must

* Strabo.

† Idem.

‡ Sammes's *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata*.

also have accrued to the merchants of this city, even at this early period, from the sale of their goods to the inhabitants of the fertile and populous circumjacent country.

Ancient records are generally vague, obscure, and unsatisfactory ; but we are now come to an era in the annals of Britain, equally eventful, interesting and important ; that period when the Roman legions under the banners of the invincible Cæsar, first invaded this island.

When Cæsar had completed the conquest of Gaul, his insatiable ambition stimulated him to invade Britain ; and, as a pretext for the justification of this act of hostility, he accused the Britons of having lent their aid to the Gauls, and afforded an asylum to the unsuccessful Belgæ, after having excited them to rebellion against their Roman conquerors.

Before Cæsar engaged in this dangerous enterprize, he consulted several of the continental merchants, who traded with the Britons ; and made enquiries respecting the extent of the country, and its population ; the disposition, customs and laws of the inhabitants, and their method of warfare. The information was unsatisfactory, for the merchants were totally ignorant of the internal state of the country ; their observations having been confined to a limited space along the sea coast, and the vicinity of London, the principal town of the island,

During the preparations of Cæsar for his military expedition, the Britons, who inhabited the villages on the coast, having received an intimation of his design from some of the Gallic merchants, thought it expedient to send over ambassadors with an offer of submission, and hostages as a proof of their pacific disposition. This embassy met with a gracious reception from the Roman warrior, who dismissed the messengers with an assurance of his protection. He also sent over Comius, a British prince, of whose attachment he was convinced,

and who was held in high esteem among the Britons.—This Prince had instructions to visit the different states of Britain, and exert his influence in persuading his countrymen to a general submission to Cæsar, on his arrival in the island.

But the brave, though ignorant Britons, were not to be persuaded to a tame resignation of their natural liberty ; they were then a free people, and nothing but want of unanimity and discipline prevented them from being invincible to the assaults of an invader.

Even Cæsar himself seemed conscious that the subjugation of the Britons would be a difficult achievement ; but nothing could deter him from the pursuit of glory, a sanguinary phantom, on whose altar he sacrificed the happiness, the liberty, and the lives of many nations.

All the requisite preparations for invasion being made, he embarked his cavalry in eighteen large transports, and the infantry in eighty vessels of inferior burthen ; and sailing with a fair wind about midnight, he next morning appeared near the coast of Britain, where his hostile approach was awaited by a host of intrepid islanders, ready to oppose his landing.

This formidable appearance, and the difficulty of landing on a rocky shore, induced Cæsar to sail along the coast about eight miles further, when he came in view of an open beach, thought to be near Deal in Kent.

The Britons detached their war chariots and cavalry in the same direction, while the main body, consisting of infantry, followed, and reached the shore before the Romans were able to make a descent. Animated with all the enthusiasm of patriotic valour, the Britons furiously drove their chariots into the sea, and slew the Romans as they descended from their ships. Their impetuosity astonished the invaders, who were unable for some time to effect

a landing; while the British infantry rushed into the sea, engaging the enemy hand to hand, and boldly opposing their naked bodies to the armour of the Romans. Who can withhold his admiration of the generous ardour of our ancestors, who so bravely repelled the conquerors of the Continent? May the recollection of their magnanimity continue to inspire their descendants with similar virtue and resolution, and enable them to defend their native land from the evils of invasion, till time shall be no more!

Notwithstanding the heroism of the Britons, however, the superior discipline of their opponents eventually prevailed; and, after a well-contested battle, in which veteran valour overcame the natural intrepidity of patriotism, Cæsar and his victorious legions landed in Britain.

After their partial defeat, the Britons sent ambassadors to Cæsar, with pacific overtures, which were accepted by the conqueror. Indeed he seems conscious, even from his own account, of his inability to subdue the nation. Yet this invasion, though fatal to the independence of those Britons, who inhabited that part of the sea-coast, was eventually beneficial to the nation, by the introduction of the polished arts of civilized society.

“ The Roman taught thy stubborn knee to bow,
 “ Though twice a Cæsar could not bend thee now.
 “ His victory was that of orient light,
 “ When the sun’s shafts disperse the gloom of night;
 “ Thy language at this distant moment shews,
 “ How much the country to the conqueror owes;
 “ Expressive, energetic, and refin’d,
 “ It sparkles with the gems he left behind.”

Cæsar, who is not only celebrated as a warrior, but an author, has left an interesting record of the state of that part of Britain, which came within the

reach of his observation, when he invaded the island. The inland districts were inhabited by the Aborigines, the sea-coast by adventurers from Belgium. The Aborigines were numerous; they lived in cottages or huts thatched with straw, like those of the Gauls; their principal employment was pastoral, and their chief subsistence derived from their flocks and herds; for they were unskilful in the art of tillage. They were taller of stature than the Gauls, wore their hair long and flowing down the back and shoulders, and shaved all the beard except what grew on the upper lip. They were divided into three classes, the Druids, or priests; the Equites, or nobles, who commanded in war; and the Plebeians, or common people. The peculiar manners of the Druids are unknown to posterity; but their authority, influence, and religious rites, have been fully ascertained. Strabo and Cæsar have left a description only of the customs and manners of the laity: probably the reserve of the Druids, and their solitary seclusion, precluded the observations of these writers.

With respect to the nobles, denominated by Cæsar the Equites, their principal garment was called *Gaunacum*, from which our word *gown* is probably derived; it was made of coarse wool, with a knap on both sides, and well calculated to repel the humidity or cold of the atmosphere. Another garment much worn by the Britons, was called *bardiacus*. It was made of fine wool, of curious interwoven colours, similar to the particoloured garment yet worn in the highlands of Scotland. The principal clothing of the common people was composed of the skins of beasts, and many of them went almost naked. Before a battle they painted their bodies blue with the ashes of sea-weed, to render themselves more terrible to their enemies.*

Their money consisted of brass or iron rings, of value proportionate to the size or weight.—The intercourse of the sexes was promiscuous; yet the

* Cæsar says they coloured their bodies with glass. “Omnes Britanni se glasto inficiunt quod cæruleum efficit colorem, atque hoc horribiliore sunt in pugna aspectu.” Com. lib. 7.

women were not destitute of delicacy ; for Queen Boadicea, in her address to the army, expatiated on the virtue of chastity.*

The administration of justice was vested in the Druids ; whose power was absolute over their superstitious votaries. They held nothing more sacred than the misletoe, and the oak on which it grew ; it was considered by them as a gift sent from heaven ; and, when they found it, the day on which it was cropped was devoted to festivity. Their temples were open at the top, and were composed of a circle of massy stone pillars, with a sloping altar in the centre, and a stone obelisk near it.

But the most unnatural, as well as horrible, of their religious rites, was the sacrifice of human victims ; which, however, only took place on some important occasion. They considered criminals, or wicked men, as the most acceptable sacrifice to their gods ; but sometimes even innocent persons suffered. For this purpose, a colossal image of wicker work was constructed, and fastened to the obelisk, in the centre of their temple. The inside of the hollow body and limbs of this image was then filled with living men, and, after some preparatory rites, it was set on fire, and the victims perished amid the smoke and flame.†

This barbarous practice was probably introduced by the Phœnicians, when they traded to the western coast of Britain. Sometimes a human victim was sacrificed for the purpose of divination. The druid having stabbed the victim, prognosticated good or evil fortune from the appearance of the streaming blood, or the convulsions of the frame ; and afterwards made his omens from the inspection of the entrails.‡

These inhuman ceremonies are described by a great, though unfortunate poet, a native of Bristol, with a degree of animation which strongly excites horror.§

* Sammes's *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata*. p. 226. † Cæsar's *Com.* ‡ Diodorus Siculus. § Chatterton.

" Ye dreary altars, by whose side,
 " The druid priest, in crimson dy'd,
 " The solemn dirges sung;
 " And drove the golden knife
 " Into the palpitating seat of life,
 " While rent with horrid shouts the distant valleys rung !

" The bleeding body bends,
 " The gloomy purple stream ascends,
 " While the troubled spirit near
 " Hovers in the steamy air,
 " Again the sacred dirge they sing,
 " Again the distant hill and coppice-valley ring."

Another poet, whose works will delight and instruct successive generations, has also described the rites of the Druids with his usual energy.

" Thy Druids struck the well-hung harps they bore,
 " With fingers deeply dy'd in human gore ;
 " And while the victim slowly bled to death,
 " Upon the rolling chords rung out his dying breath."

Notwithstanding the superstition of the Druids, their doctrine concerning futurity is entitled to respect. One of the principal points they taught was the immortality and transmigration of souls. This doctrine they inculcated with great zeal ; for they conceived it most proper for the excitement of courage, a virtue of the utmost importance to the state in those warlike ages. They also delivered orations or lectures, concerning the motions of the heavenly bodies ; the magnitude of the heavens and the earth ; the nature of things ; and the power and majesty of the immortal gods.*

* Cæsar's Commentaries.

Soon after the conquest of Britain by the Romans in the reign of Nero, when Setonius reduced the isle of Anglesey, which was the last asylum of the druids, he exterminated them so suddenly, that all the traditionary knowledge transmitted to them, in the songs of their predecessors, was lost to the world ; a circumstance much to be regretted by the antiquary and historian, for such oral communications would have been invaluable, as illustrative of the origin, customs and manners of our ancestors.

It is uncertain, at what period the Phœnicians relinquished their commerce with the western part of Britain. Some political concussion at home might have interrupted a trade so advantageous to the Tyrians, and so beneficial to the Britons. Their commercial intercourse was entirely abandoned, when the Roman power prevailed over this part of the island.

The early traffic of the Phœnicians with the western Britons ; the remoteness of this part of the island from the districts over-run by the victorious Romans ; and the resolution with which their legions were resisted by the Silures, who secured a temporary independence, by a retreat into the mountainous tracts of the country, will justify the conclusion, that the inhabitants of Bristol were comparatively opulent and respectable. This city must, from its situation as a frontier town, have been a place of great importance ; and its progressive trade and manufactures were, in all probability, not inferior to those of London itself. The metropolis was subject to the insults of every invader ; while Bristol, remote from Gallic and Roman adventurers, was, for a considerable period after the first descent of Cæsar, preserved by its situation, from the devastations of war. The early maritime traffick of this city was, however, inconsiderable ; a few barks employed as coasters constituting the whole of its shipping ; but even this trade gave Bristol a decided superiority over every other port on the western coast of the island ; and contributed to the gradual prosperity and civilization of its inhabitants.

After the assassination of Julius Cæsar, during the interregnum of the Romans, and to the time of the Emperor Claudius, the Britons were under the dominion of their own kings, and governed by their own laws. Consequently in their traffick with the Continent, they paid the customs and duties required by the Romans, not as an acknowledgement of submission, but to obtain the advantages of commerce.

Intestine commotions, however, fomented by the ambition of petty princes, from time to time involved the Britons in the miseries of civil war. The leaders of the unsuccessful faction found an asylum at Rome, which exasperated the Britons to such a degree, that they committed acts of open hostility against those Romans, who had settled in the island as merchants.*

The Emperor Claudius sent Plautius with an expedition against the Britons, to revenge this injury ; and, afterwards, invaded Britain in person, with a powerful army.† He landed at the mouth of the Thames, and advanced to attack the Britons, who, impatient of delay, came to a general engagement, in which the Romans obtained a complete victory. This conquest was secured by the wisdom and clemency of Claudius, who merely disarmed the Britons ; and, having appointed Plautius his lieutenant in Britain, he sailed from this island, at the expiration of sixteen days from the time of his landing. On the return of Claudius to Rome, he was honored with a magnificent triumph ; and received the sir-name of Britannicus.

But these honors, so ostentatiously conferred on the Roman Emperor, by the gratitude or vanity of his countrymen, originated in their ignorance of the real state of Britain at this period ; for, so far were the inhabitants from yielding a general submission to the invader, that they sought security in their woods and morasses. A considerable part of the island was, indeed, occupied by the Romans ; but the western and northern districts remained unconquered.

* Dion. Cuss.

† A. D. 44.

Arviragus was King of those Britons who still preserved their freedom ; he succeeded his brother Guiderius in regal authority ; was crowned A. D. 45 ; and, by his prudence and valour, protected his subjects from the degradation of submitting to foreign power.

In the sixth year of his reign, Christianity was promulgated in Britain ; and a short account of this interesting event will illustrate the history of the Western Britons.

We are informed by an ancient writer* of acknowledged veracity, that Joseph of Arimathea was sent over to Britain, by the apostle Philip, to convert the inhabitants to Christianity. He first preached the gospel at Glastonbury, in Somersetshire, where he not only converted the inhabitants, but also their King to the Christian faith, a fact which is recorded in the following lines, written by Harding :

“ Joseph converted the King Arviragus,
 “ By his preaching to know the law divine ;
 “ And baptiz’d him as written hath Ninnius,
 “ The Chronicler in Britain tongue full fine.”

The fact that the inhabitants of the western part of Britain embraced the Christian religion in the first century, is also recorded by a Roman author,† whose authority is a corroboration of the circumstance. Indeed those numerous testimonies tend to establish a fact, which reflects the highest honor on the understanding and virtue of our ancestors ; by proving that they became zealous converts to a religion, which had a direct tendency to humanize their hearts, and render them at once enlightened and happy ; while their southern countrymen were yet under the two-fold yoke of Roman despotism, and Pagan superstition.

* Ninnius.

† Tertullian.

The first Christian church in Britain, is recorded to have been founded by Joseph of Arimathea, at a place called Ines Withen, in the British language, but now known by the name of Glastonbury,* which was granted to him for that purpose by Arviragus. This church was small, and built of rude materials, such as composed the architecture of that age. The particulars of this transaction were engraved on a brass plate, fixed on a pillar, in the new church, and preserved, after the demolition of Glastonbury Abbey, in the reign of Henry VIII. The inscription is in Latin, to the following purport:

“ In the year thirty-one, from the passion of our Lord, there arrived here twelve holy men, of whom Joseph of Arimathea was chief; who built in this place the first church of this kingdom. He appointed a burial-place, and dedicated the church in honour of the mother of Christ; David, archbishop of Menew, attesting the same. Afterwards the same bishop, the number of the saints of that church increasing, added to it, on the eastern part, a chancel, which he consecrated in honour of the blessed virgin; the altar of which, for a memorial to future ages, he adorned with a saphire of inestimable value; and, lest the original place and dimensions of that church, might in consequence of such augmentation, be forgotten, there was a column or pillar erected, in a line drawn through the eastern corner of it, towards the south, dividing it from the chancel. The length of the church from that line towards the west, was sixty feet; its breadth twenty-six feet; and the distance of the centre of the column, from the middle point, between the corners, forty-eight feet.”

Joseph of Arimathea, the founder, was entombed at the south angle of the oratory; and, near his grave, St. Patrick, the first Abbot of this place, was also interred, beneath a stone pyramid, which was afterwards overlaid with silver.†

* Sammes's Brit. Ant. Illustr. p. 112.

† Melkinus.

The walls of this church were made of intertwined twigs, supported by posts, driven into the ground ; the roof was thatched with straw ; and of such materials were even the palaces of our ancient kings composed. But soon after the erection of this church, the ancient Britons were instructed by the Romans in the art of building houses and fortifications of stone. Many vestiges of their encampments remain in this island ; and, among others, the ruins of a fortified camp on Clifton-Hill, and two others on the opposite bank of the Avon.

In the reign of the Roman Emperor Claudius, the proprator Ostorius, a man of consummate military talents and experience, was appointed general of the Roman army in Britain. On his arrival in this island, he experienced much annoyance from the unsubdued Britons ; who made frequent inroads into the districts occupied by their countrymen, who had formed an alliance with the Romans.

Ostorius, by a vigorous effort, subdued the southern part of the island, which he formed into a province ; he afterwards marched into the country of the Cangî, a small territory in Somersetshire. Having succeeded in the subjugation of the Cangî, he disarmed them, and, to prevent a revolt, took possession of the heights, on the banks of the Avon and Severn, which he fortified as a chain of posts, calculated, from their elevated situation, to command a view of the circumjacent country, and overawe the natives. We are informed by a Roman historian, that Ostorius maintained his authority over the inhabitants on the banks of the Avon and Severn, by surrounding them with camps.* A proof that our ancestors submitted with great reluctance to the sovereignty of a foreign state ; and that the population of Bristol was not only considerable, but formidable.

When Ostorius had thus taken possession of, and fortified Bristol, and its vicinity, he resolved to complete the conquest of the island. Leaving a garrison

* Tacitus.

at the camp on Clifton-Down, he crossed the Severn at Aust passage, which antiquaries agree has taken its name from this warrior ; and invaded the country of the Silures, or inhabitants of South Wales. Those brave, and hitherto unconquered people, were then ruled by Caractacus, a hero famous in history. He was a prince of great prudence and magnanimity, equally distinguished for his intrepidity in the field, and his patriotism in the government of the state. This hero, having collected his forces, encamped with his army in Shropshire, on a hill called Caer Caradoc, a post which was strong by nature, and fortified by art.

On this hill, he waited the attack of the Roman legions ; and, on the approach of Ostorius, prepared for battle. Caractacus excited the courage of his warriors with the persuasive and energetic eloquence of patriotism. He invoked the names of his glorious ancestors, whose bravery had repelled Cæsar himself; and hitherto preserved the people from the ignominious yoke of the enemy. He exhorted his countrymen to defend their liberties, their altars, their wives, and their children, from dishonour and slavery. “ This is the day, and this the field !” exclaimed Caractacus, “ in which Britain will recover her liberty, or be reduced to perpetual slavery.” The troops, with acclamations, and all the enthusiasm of generous patriotism, voluntarily bound themselves, by a solemn oath, to conquer or die ; and that neither darts nor wounds should compel them to yield.

The formidable appearance and ardour of the Silures startled Ostorius ; who beheld a river apparently unfordable in his front ; a rampire on the opposite bank ; and the steep hills covered with armed men. But his soldiers were unappalled, and, eager for the contest, loudly demanded the signal to begin the attack ; exclaiming that to brave men nothing was impregnable. The Romans then crossed the river, and, after a conflict maintained with the utmost heroism by both armies, the superior discipline of the Romans, and their auxiliaries, prevailed over the native valour of the Britons, whose overthrow was fatal to

the independence of their country. This event happened in the ninth year of the invasion of Britain in the reign of Claudius Cæsar ;* and after the defeat of the Silures, Ostorius returned to the fortified camp near Bristol, which was peculiarly favourable for the purposes of defence and observation ; and situated in a fertile country, affording abundant supplies of provisions for his army.

From the form of the ancient City of Bristol ; and its having been walled with stone, it is probable, that it was rebuilt and fortified by the directions of Ostorius ; the four principal streets being made to correspond with the four cardinal points, which was the usual form of Roman cities.† Indeed, the advantageous situation of Bristol, on the banks of a navigable river, was a sufficient inducement to the conqueror, to provide for its future security and defence.

The vestiges of the labors of Ostorius are still perceptible in the vicinity of Bristol ; where the ruins of three Roman camps impress the mind of the antiquarian with enthusiastic veneration. A Roman station on the high banks of the Avon, consisting of three distinct camps, commanded the river and circumjacent country, for many miles. The principal of these camps was situated on Clifton Down ; another, directly opposite, on the south-west bank of the Avon, called Bower-walls ; and the third on the verge of Leigh-Down, of smaller extent, on a projecting part of the bank, further down the river.

There is a romantic description of these ruins recorded in the fifteenth century, by a native of Bristol. This chronicler, however, seemed more inclined to adopt the traditional legend of the vulgar, than investigate the origin of those fortifications by rational enquiry.

“ The fortified camp,” says he, “ upon the high ground, not distant a quarter of a mile from Clifton-cliff, is said by vulgar people to be there founded

* A. D. 54.

† Tacitus.

before the time of William the Conqueror, by Saracens or Jews, or by one Ghyst, a giant. And, as a proof that such a fortress was in all likelihood founded there in ancient times, there remains to this day, in an extensive circle, a heap of stones great and small. It is wonderful to behold those circular ruins, lying in such order. They seem to be the remains of a strong castle, which is said to have stood on this spot, for some hundreds of years past, but is now nearly levelled with the ground. It is an honour and ornament to my native city Bristol, and a proof of its antiquity, to have the foundation of such a noble fortress or camp; and I write this as a record of its existence.”*

The name of Saracens was probably given by the common people to the Romans; but mere tradition is insufficient for the establishment of a fact; and various circumstances shall be adduced, as proofs that these fortifications were originally erected by the conquerors of the world. A description of the Roman manner of encampment will furnish the antiquarian with evidence, at once curious and important, in favour of the assertion, that Clifton Down and the opposite eminence, on the western bank of the Avon, were once a Roman station, and fortified by Ostorius, when he extended his conquests to this quarter of the island.

The military system and discipline of the Romans was a model of regularity. A legion originally consisted of three thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry, which was afterwards augmented by Caius Marius, to the number of six thousand two hundred. The number of legions was twenty, or upwards, according to the increase of population, and the nature or extent of their warfare.

Their defensive armour was compleat, and their offensive weapons consisted of a pile, or long dart, and a sword, and dagger. When on their march, in an enemy's country, a centurion went before with the advanced guard, to choose a convenient place for encamping; which, when practicable, was always on an

* William of Worcester, who was parish clerk in St. James's Priory, Bristol, in the year 1480.

eminence, and near the banks of a river. The highest ground was first marked out for the *prætorium*,* or pavilion for the general. The form of the *prætorium* was circular; it was high and surmounted with a white flag, contained the tribunal or chair of state; the *augurale* or place of divination; and other appendages of supreme authority

Around the *prætorium*, an area of one hundred feet in extent, on every side, was marked out; and, on the side most convenient for water and forage, the legions were encamped; each being separated by a street, fifty feet in breadth; and stationed according to the degree of honor which they held in the army. The centre was accounted the most honourable post, and the extremities of the camp, an inferior station.

The *principia* was a way of one hundred feet in breadth, which extended throughout the camp, between the maniples or subdivisions of every legion, and the *prætorium*. In this space the tribunes sat occasionally to administer justice; the principal officers of the army frequented it as a place of recreation, and the soldiers amused themselves with different athletic and military exercises.

Every tribune had his tent pitched at the head of his legion, and the legates and treasures were stationed nearer to the *prætorium*.

The encampment was encompassed by a ditch and rampire, two hundred feet distant from the tents; that the soldiers, marching into the camp in battle array, might, without confusion, be formed in subdivisions; or drawn up in regular order, before they advanced to attack an enemy. The fortification was also made at this distance from the tents, that the soldiers might be protected from the darts and other missile weapons of the enemy.† The tents were made of skins

* This pavilion took its name from the *generalissimo* of the army, who was formerly called *Prætor*.

† Polybius.

or hides supported by stakes driven into the ground, and fastened with cords. Each tent contained eleven soldiers; this society was denominated *contubernium*; and the principal person, who was commonly a veteran, was called *caput contubernii*. Every soldier was sworn not only not to commit theft, but if they found any thing to bring it to the tribunes.

The camp was fortified by the whole army; the soldiers, armed with their swords and daggers, made the ditch; every maniple having a proportionate part measured out, under the superintendence of the officers. The ditch was generally eight feet wide, and eight deep. Of the earth which they cast inwards, a rampire was formed, faced towards the trench, with turf cut regularly; or, if there was no turf, they strengthened the loose earth with boughs and faggots. The rampire, from the verge of the ditch, formed a breast-work, fortified on the outside with thick sharp stakes deeply fastened in the ground.

The camp had four gates; the first, or *porta prætoria*, which was in the rear of the general's tent, commonly faced the east. By the opposite gate the soldiers went to fetch their wood, water, and forage. The two other gates stood opposite to both ends of that respected place, which they called *principia*. These gates were secured by doors; and, in standing camps, fortified with turrets; upon which were placed the *balista* or sling, and other defensive engines.

The Romans divided the night into four watches, every watch containing three hours; the first commencing at six o'clock in the evening, and the last ending at six in the morning.—These watches were distinguished by different notes of the trumpet, the charge of sounding, which belonged to the chief centurion of a legion, at whose tent the trumpeters attended, to be directed by his hour-glass.

The chief standard of every legion was an eagle, and the ensign of a manipule was a dragon, wolf or sphinx, with the head towards the enemy.

When the commander in chief had determined to fight, a scarlet flag was hoisted above the prætorium, as a signal to the soldiers to prepare for battle; the sound of many trumpets together, was the second signal; and the third was a short harangue or oration, to encourage the troops, and confirm their valour by rational motives.—Such was the regularity, discipline, and prudence with which a Roman army was conducted to victory.

From the foregoing sketch, it must be evident, on a survey of the place, that Clifton-down was formerly a Roman station. The importance of the situation induced Ostorius to fortify it in the best manner; but there was a deviation from the usual regular square of the Roman camp; the circular hill on which he encamped requiring him to adopt a similar form in his fortification. Yet there is a visible regularity in his outworks, particularly the ditches and rampires, with which this station was fortified, approaching as nearly as the hill would admit, to the square form of other Roman fortifications. The most elevated part of the hill, where the prætorium undoubtedly stood, is indeed semicircular; but the opposite quarter, where the *porta decumana* was placed, and which led directly to the river, presents a regular line, which, when fortified, must have been impregnable, as well as inaccessible to an enemy.

There appears to have been a communication between the camp on Clifton Down and those on the opposite bank of the river, by a ford across the Avon. This ford, the bottom of which consisted of solid rock, existed till within these few years; but, being a bar to the shipping, it was blown up with gunpowder.

A variety of Roman coins and utensils dug up by Sir William Draper, and other antiquaries, among the ruins of the camp on Clifton Down, afford

* Trajan's column at Rome is adorned with sculptured ensigns with these devices.

sufficient proofs of its origin, though the researches of the curious tend to destroy the vestiges of this station; some of which are however still visible. The other camps on the opposite bank, have escaped the scrutinizing research of the antiquary, and are therefore more perfect; that known by the name of Bower Walls is overgrown with wood; and several traces of ancient masonry are still perceptible among its mouldering ruins. How different now the appearance of these once important fortifications, where the Roman eagles, displayed on the airy summits, in all the pomp of military sway, overawed and intimidated the ancient Britons, compelling them either to submit to foreign power, or preserve their independence amid the woods and morasses of South Wales.

The remains of the camp on Rownham-hill, directly opposite to Clifton Down, exhibit the most perfect traces of the Roman manner of fortification. It is generally called Bower walls, a name probably first given to it by some fanciful individual who planted with wood, the spot once occupied by warriors.

It is nearly as extensive as the camp on Clifton Down, and displays its once formidable triple ditches and rampires, in a semicircular form, along a space of at least five hundred yards in extent, enclosing an area sufficiently capacious to contain an army of 10,000 men; and bounded by the verge of a dingle on the northern side, and the indented bank of the Avon on the east. The outer and the second trenches and rampires appear to have been made on the plain, and doubtless were principally intended to resist the first shock of assailants; but the third trench is deep, and a fortification of solid masonry, built on a thick rampire, and twelve feet higher than the outworks, must at the period when it was raised have been impregnable. The masonry is composed of small stones, strongly cemented with lime, part of which has withstood the efforts of time, during the lapse of thirteen centuries. Traces of three entrances to this camp are still visible. The widest, which probably led to the *principia*, is on the south west side of the fortification; but it could have no correspondent gate-way on the opposite side of the camp, which is bounded by a precipice of

at least three hundred feet deep, which forms the bank of the Avon opposite Clifton down.

A narrower entrance on the eastern side, which probably was the *porta prætorialis*, is nearly opposite to a third gate-way, which, from its situation, on the verge of the dingle, must doubtless have been the *porta decumana*, or gate by which the troops went out for wood, water, and forage; and through which criminals were conducted to execution. There have been various conjectures respecting the situation of the prætorium in this camp; but we are yet left in a state of indecision, as the place marked out for the general's pavilion seems to have been optional, or according to circumstances. An antiquary describes the *porta prætorialis* as being "always situated behind the general's tent; and this gate did usually look towards the east, or to the enemy, or that way the army was to march.*" The prætorium is described by Polybius, as being always placed in the most elevated part of the camp, commanding a view of it, and the circumjacent country. Hence it must have been placed in this camp on the eastern side, near the bank of the Avon; a situation, which afforded a full view of the other encampments, and enabled the commanding officers to communicate by signals.

This camp has long been planted with a variety of trees; particularly, the oak, ash, and elm, which extend their pleasant embowering shades, and offer a delightful shelter from the heat of summer, to numerous parties of pleasure who frequent these romantic scenes. The dingle is also planted with trees, that rise along its banks, presenting a picturesque scene, which is still more grateful to the lover of nature, by its contrast with the barren rocks that extend along the northern side of the Avon, beneath Clifton Down. The river, winding amid its rocky shores, also presents a beautiful object, and the scenery is often enlivened

* Sammes's Brit. Antiqua Illust. p. 380.

by the transient appearance of a ship towed into port, deeply laden with the choicest produce of foreign climes. Yet, amid all the beauties of the rich, romantic, and varied scenery, presented by a landscape, which affords the richest display of fertility, picturesque sublimity, and ornamental architecture, animated by a happy population; the venerable ruins of this ancient fortification, once manned by the intrepid conquerors of the world, have a tendency to inspire the contemplative mind with more enthusiastic emotions, than those excited even by the beautiful perfection of art and nature.

From the camp on Rownham-hill there is a communication with that on Leigh Down, by the deep and narrow dingle, or by passing along the verge of this valley, to its extremity on the Down. Stoke-leigh camp is the smallest of the three, situated on a projecting part of the bank of the Avon, to the N. W. of the camp on Rownham-hill, and somewhat lower than the fortification on Clifton-hill. It is fortified on the south and south-west, by two trenches and rampires, the outer bank is comparatively low, and the inner rampire, ten feet thick at the top, and gradually broader towards the base, composed of earth and stone, without any apparent intermixture of mortar, rises at least ten feet above the level of the camp; and, with a ditch, eight feet deep, must impress the beholder with a lively idea of its former strength.

The principal, or western entrance, crossed the first trench, and through the rampire, into the second ditch, which led to another gateway, immediately communicating with the interior of the camp. Hence the assailants, if successful in forcing the outworks, would afterwards be obliged to pass along a space of sixty yards, exposed to the darts, and other missile weapons of the besieged, before they could penetrate into the interior.

An extensive narrow wall, with a ditch, may be traced from the northern extremity of this camp, to a considerable distance along the Down; and it



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THE HOTWELL HOUSE, seen from the ROCKS AT CLIFTON.

probably enclosed a repository for forage, and a separate place for the horses belonging to the army.

The entrance at the northern side of this camp, is conjectured by Mr. Barrett to have led to the prætorium, the scite of which he describes as surrounded with a trench. But not a single vestige of this intrenchment is now discoverable, and that it never existed, is extremely probable; for the prætorium, and its area, including a circular space of two hundred feet in diameter,* was situated so as to afford an easy communication with every other part of the camp; and it also was sufficiently defended by the general fortifications.

The supposition of the existence, at this early period, of a general chain of communication by forts erected on heights, seems also erroneous; for the Roman army, under the command of Ostorius, had no reason to apprehend an attack from the Britons, after the defeat of Caractacus. It does not appear that Ostorius received any of his reinforcements, or military supplies, by water; for it ~~was~~ during the government of Agricola, that Britain was first discovered by the Romans to be an island. Hence Ostorius, who had nothing to fear from any sudden attack, probably thought himself sufficiently secure in those fortified camps, which were rather established to overawe a conquered people, than resist the assaults of a powerful enemy.

After the final departure of the Romans from Britain, these fortified camps afforded an occasional protection to the western Britons when assailed by the Scots and Picts; and afterwards when the Saxons conquered this country, they doubtless not only availed themselves of the fortified posts formerly occupied by the conquerors of the world, but extended and strengthened those works by additional fortifications.—It is not improbable that Alfred the Great built the

* Polybius.

forts supposed by Mr. Barrett and other antiquarians to have been raised by the Romans. As a corroboration of this conjecture it may be mentioned that the English were unskilled in architecture at that period, and consequently the forts built by them have long since sunk into ruins, while the ancient cement of the Romans continues to this day, almost as hard as the stones it binds.

When the Danish barbarians overran England, at the commencement of the eleventh century, almost every monument of national skill was destroyed by those rude conquerors. But notwithstanding their ferocity and ignorance, they had sufficient sagacity to occupy the different fortifications; and, among others, the ancient Roman station near Bristol, which, from its situation, was peculiarly favourable to the security of a maritime intercourse with their piratical countrymen. It is well known that the ancient Danes were enterprising navigators, who for ages harassed and plundered the other maritime nations of Europe. When they conquered England, they built a number of forts on the hills throughout the kingdom, which, when occupied by troops, enabled them to keep up a general communication. Several of those forts were erected along the banks of navigable rivers, and when the Danes were apprehensive of an insurrection of the natives, they were thus enabled to receive requisite reinforcements from the Continent; or, if defeated, to retreat to their shipping for security.

Their unskilfulness in the art of fortification is manifest from the ruins of their forts, which were commonly circular, consisting of earth and stones, and surrounded with a deep ditch. But that they occupied the stronger forts erected by the Saxons on the banks of the Avon, cannot be doubted. In those early ages, indeed, mankind trusted more to personal prowess than the protection of a fortress; hence we frequently read of the besieged sallying forth and repelling the besiegers hand to hand. Those hardy and fierce northern nations, known by the name of Danes, were not deficient in that daring valour,

which probably occasioned them to be the more negligent in the erection of military works, which were in general built for temporary purposes, and of perishable materials.

For the more complete illustration of the antiquities of Bristol and its vicinity, the camp on Clifton Down was dug up in several places in the year 1808; but those researches were unproductive, nothing curious being found except a part of a Roman or Danish dagger.*

Similar researches were also made in the two camps on the opposite bank of the Avon, but without success. Stoke-leigh camp was discovered to be founded on solid rock, covered with a thin stratum of soil or mould, which was probably accumulated from the adjacent down. This camp was not planted with trees like that on the adjacent eminence, where the soil is deeper: yet even there no ancient coins, armour,* or utensils, were discoverable. It is indeed improbable that the Roman army, commanded by Ostorius, buried any part of their treasure in the camps near Bristol, for it does not appear from history, that there was a battle fought between them and the Britons in this neighbourhood, and it was customary for them to conceal their money beneath the earth, only when they expected an engagement with an enemy.

* It is now in the possession of the publisher.



CHAPTER THE SECOND.

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CHAPTER THE SECOND.

THE extension of the Roman power and influence to the western part of Britain, is an eventful era in the history of Bristol; for it is remarkable, that the victorious progress of those foreign conquerors to this city, and the promulgation of christianity within its walls, happened at nearly the same period of time. Joseph of Arimathea first preached the gospel in the country of the Cangi, about the middle of the first century; and, at the same period, Ostorius took possession of Bristol, and encamped with his legions on the high banks of the Avon in the vicinity of the city. Hence the accession of both Divine and human knowledge thus communicated to the inhabitants of Bristol, must have had a powerful influence in the melioration of their manners, the exaltation of their religious ideas, and their advancement in those useful and elegant arts which contribute to the improvement and happiness of mankind.

A circumstantial detail of the gradual improvement of this great community in population, manufactures, and commerce, would afford a high gratification to the curiosity of the general reader, and contribute to an elucidation of that progression of the human mind from barbarism to refinement, which is so grateful to the moral philosopher. But such complete and authenticated

documents of the ancient state of Bristol, and the various vicissitudes experienced by its inhabitants, are unattainable from the obscure writings of monkish historians. Their researches and studies were chiefly confined to the ecclesiastical history of those dark ages,—the foundation of monasteries, eulogiums on their regal or noble benefactors, and ridiculous stories of pretended miracles, which constitute the very essence of the information communicated by their records. The transactions of commerce were considered as unworthy of notice by men who could obtain the wealth of the industrious without effort. We must, however, avail ourselves of even the imperfect memorials of past ages, supplied by those chroniclers, whose pages present us with a misty retrospect of the general state of Britain and its inhabitants. Several hints on this subject, though evidently dictated by prejudice, are also obtainable from the elegant productions of the Roman historians.

When the Romans extended their conquests to the northern and western tracts of Britain, their intercourse with the inhabitants was much impeded by woods and morasses. The four principal highways through Britain, having in the lapse of ages become almost impassable, were repaired by Trajan about the close of the first century.

But the advantages generally derivable by the natives and their conquerors from this facility of intercourse, were dearly purchased by those Britons who were employed in this great public work. For the roads were repaired and paved by the natives, under the direction of Romans, who compelled them to work like slaves.—Hence they justly complained that the Romans stood over them like relentless task-masters, compelling them to labour with stripes and indignities, consuming their strength and wearing out their limbs in clearing away woods and paving fens.*

* Tacitus

It would be tedious to give a detail of the struggles made by the Britons for their emancipation, during the ascendancy of Roman power in this island. But it ought to be observed, that notwithstanding the loss of their independence, they derived many benefits from their intercourse with a people who introduced the useful and ornamental arts wherever their arms prevailed.

In the reign of Domitian, Britain was governed by Agricola, who established the Roman power in this island, and immortalized his name by a decisive victory over the Caledonii, under the brave but unfortunate Galgacus. This event completed the subjugation of Britain, which was thenceforward considered by the conqueror as a Roman province, and consequently admitted to a participation of all the immunities enjoyed by the allies of Rome.

The island was governed by Agricola with great moderation and prudence. He appointed officers of virtue and talents to preside over the different districts; was indefatigable in the reformation of abuses, and administration of justice according to the laws of Rome; and he contributed to the improvement of the Britons, by the institution of establishments for the education of youth. By this mild and equitable administration he conciliated the minds of the people, and this pacific disposition was still further promoted by the extensive promulgation of christianity in the island.

The Britons were also instructed by the Romans in the cultivation of the soil; an art hitherto much neglected by a people who preferred pastoral indolence to the active industry of the husbandman. But the numerous advantages and gratifications arising from successful agriculture soon rendered it popular, and improvements, not only in handicraft arts, but also in navigation gradually introduced that adventurous and enterprising spirit, which at this remote period of time is the foundation of the commerce, opulence, and glory of this island.

London, Bristol, and other sea-ports, gradually emerged from obscurity under the auspicious influence of Agricola ; but the subsequent commotions and final dismemberment of the Roman empire involved Britain, and its other dependencies, in similar ruin.

In the year 410, the Romans finally resigned their authority over Britain. But they previously exhausted the population by levies of troops for the defence of their dominions on the Continent, insomuch that the island was left almost defenceless.*

After the departure of the Romans, the people were left to choose their own rulers ; but this short enjoyment of peace and liberty, was interrupted by the incursions of the Picts and Scots, barbarians who inhabited the northern part of the island, and invaded their neighbours for the purposes of plunder and devastation.

Embassadors were deputed by the Britons to Rome, entreating aid against the Scots and Picts, and a legion was sent to assist in their repulsion. The Romans soon defeated those marauders, and having cleared the frontiers which divided those uncivilized banditti from the civilized Britons, they built a wall or rampire across the island, from sea to sea.†

But the barbarians soon broke down part of this wall, and again poured into the country like a torrent, spreading destruction around wheresoever they came. The Britons in their distress again sent ambassadors to Rome, imploring the aid of their former protectors ; and Valentinian III. then emperor,‡ sent another body of troops to their assistance. These auxiliaries soon drove the plunderers beyond their frontiers, and for the protection of the Britons, a wall

* Gildas.

† Sammes's Brit. Ant. Illus. p. 344.

‡ An. Dom. 418.

of stone was built twelve feet high and eight feet thick, which formed a strong barrier from Newcastle-on-Tyne to Solway-frith. They also built towers on the southern coast to prevent piratical invasions in that quarter.

Having thus fortified the frontiers of their British allies, the Romans exhorted them to defend themselves valiantly, as they could no longer afford them any assistance. The Romans then embarked for the Continent,* and soon after their departure the northern barbarians recommenced hostilities against the Britons, and by their savage and desperate valour, captured the frontier towns, and devastated the country.

A pathetic account of the misery of the people is recorded by our most ancient historian,† who informs us that the Britons, exhausted and dispirited by continual wars, sent deputies to Rome for assistance.‡ Their letters directed to Ætius, the president of Gallia, were to the following purport :

“ To Ætius, thrice consul, the groans of the Britons.—The barbarians drive us to the sea, and the sea drives us back to the barbarians ; so that between both we are reduced to the wretched alternative of being murdered or drowned.

“ We the poor remains of the Britons, besides the miseries of war, are afflicted with famine and mortality, which at this time depopulates our land.”

This supplicatory address obtained only an answer from Ætius, in which he informed the Britons that he could afford them no assistance, being then engaged in preparations for the repulsion of Attila, who with an army of eight hundred thousand Huns, had invaded Gaul. Thus left destitute, the dispirited Britons had before them the miserable prospect of famine or extermination ; for the Scots

* An. Dom. 423.

† Bede.

‡ An. Dom. 446.

and Picts in their frequent incursions, not only interrupted tillage, but drove off the flocks and herds, and destroyed the habitations of our ancestors.

But the immorality of the Britons at this period was a greater obstacle to their happiness, than even the inroads of the enemy. Their religion, if it deserved the name, consisted of an intermixture of Pagan errors with the truths of Christianity ; the manners of the people were tinctured with the grossness of their superstition ; and their morals were debased by sensuality. The light of Revelation, which had shone on the inhabitants of the western part of Britain, and consequently those of Bristol, was eclipsed by the gloomy superstition of Paganism ; and though numbers of the people were professors of Christianity, the enormity of their vices disproved the sincerity of their professions.

While the people in general were in this wretched state of depravity, without virtue, government, or laws ; a few of the nobles held a convention, to devise some method of counteracting the evils of anarchy. At this meeting it was deemed expedient to nominate Vortigern King of the Dunmonii,* monarch of Britain. This decision met with the general concurrence of the people, who, harassed by the reiterated incursions of the northern barbarians, wished for a ruler whose abilities and valour might enable them to repel their enemies.

But Vortigern was incompetent to the performance of this important task ; for instead of the wisdom, disinterestedness, and virtue which should form the character of a great monarch, his characteristics were cunning, treachery, and sensuality. The Scots and Picts continued their depredations in defiance of the feeble exertions of this British sovereign, who finding his resources inadequate to the continuance of the contest, convened an assembly of his nobles, at which he persuaded them to call in the aid of the Saxons, a warlike nation who inhabited the country near the coasts of the German Ocean.

* Inhabitants of Cornwall and Devonshire.

Accordingly ambassadors were sent to Wittigisil, general of the Saxons, who summoned a council of his principal officers to receive them. When introduced to the council, the senior ambassador of the Britons addressed them in the following words,

“ Illustrious and generous Saxons, the Britons, harassed by the incessant inroads of the Scots and Picts their neighbours, yet their enemies, have deputed us to implore your aid. The fame of your valour has reached our ears, we are sensible your arms are irresistible, and therefore come to intreat your protection. Britain for some ages made a considerable province of the Roman empire, but our protectors having abandoned us, we invite you to an alliance. Grant our request, and in return we offer all that a country rich and fertile, like ours, can afford.—We shall submit to whatever terms of recompense you shall judge reasonable, if as allies you afford us your assistance in the repulsion of the enemy out of our country.”*

To this address Wittigisil returned a concise but favourable answer. “ Be assured,” said he, “ that the Saxons will assist you in your pressing necessities.” The result of this conference was a treaty of alliance, in which the Saxons agreed to send the Britons an army of nine thousand auxiliaries, on condition, that the troops should be allowed a certain pay, and that they should be put in possession of the isle of Thanet for the establishment of a colony in Britain.

Prior to this embassy and alliance, Britain was not altogether unknown to the Saxons, who had made several piratical descents upon the eastern coast of the island, whence they had been repelled with so much vigour, that they considered the Britons a truly formidable race, till they themselves made a discovery of their weakness.

The warlike people whom the Britons had thus engaged to become their assistants, were at this period celebrated on the continent for their valour. Their origin is unknown, though several antiquarians have favoured the world with ingenious conjectures on the subject. Mr. Camden is of opinion that they derived their name from the Sacæ of Asia, and this conjecture is corroborated by some runic verses descriptive of the Heaven of these idolaters. Thus translated by Sammes.

“ Methinks I long to end,
 “ I hear the Dyser call ;
 “ Which Woden here doth send
 “ To bring me to his hall.
 “ With ASIANS there in highest seat,
 “ I merrily will quaff,
 “ Past hours I care not to repeat,
 “ But when I die I’ll laugh.”*

The Saxons believed that after death they were to be admitted into Woden’s† Hall, there to drink ale with him and his companions in the skulls of their enemies. They also imagined that a goddess named Dyser was employed by their god to convey the spirits of the valiant into his paradise.

When the Saxons were invited to the aid of the Britons, they were idolaters, the principal objects of their worship being the Sun, Moon, Tuisco, Woden, Thor, Friga, and Seater, from whom the days of the week were named.

According to Herodotus, their leagues were confirmed with human blood. Having put wine into an earthen vessel, they with a sword or knife made a gash in their bodies, then dipped the weapon into the cup, and after many invocations

* Sammes’s *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata*, p. 436.

† Woden was the Saxon god of war.

to their idols, and imprecations against whoever should fail of this solemn engagement, they drank up the wine.*”

The Saxons were naturally warlike. For courage of mind, strength of body, and indefatigable activity, they were the most renowned of the German nations.† They were dreadful to the Romans in consequence of their courage and agility.‡ They were tall, well proportioned, and handsome; wore their hair loose on their shoulders, and were clothed in long flowing garments of linen, embroidered with various colours. Their armour consisted of spears, swords, daggers and small shields. To their enemies they were cruel, especially prisoners of war, whom they sacrificed to their idols.§

According to their agreement with the British ambassadors, a considerable body of troops, under the command of Hengist and Horsa, the sons of Wittigisil, were sent from Saxony to this island. They landed in the isle of Thanet, where Vortigern, who stood on the shore ready to receive them, welcomed his allies with unfeigned joy.—The Saxons were joined by a small army of Britons, and marched against the Scots and Picts, who had penetrated into the country as far as Stamford in Lincolnshire.

At the first onset the Saxons, unappalled by the darts of the enemy, marched up to them with a firmness and discipline that terrified those plunderers, who had been accustomed to the feeble opposition of the ill-armed Britons. The total discomfiture of the northern barbarians in the first battle, was succeeded by a series of victories, obtained by the Saxons over them, that eventually compelled them to retire into their own barren and almost inaccessible regions.

When Hengist the Saxon general had thus expelled the enemies of the Britons, he requested permission to build a small fort for the protection of the northern

* Herodotus, lib. 4.

† Zosimus.

‡ Marcellinus.

§ Paulus Diaconus.

part of the country, and the accommodation of the troops who might be placed there as a garrison. Vortigern readily complied with his request, and granted him as much ground as he could surround with the hide of an ox, which being cut into small thongs, enclosed a space sufficient for the foundation of a fort, called Thong Castle.

The British nobles, however, were displeased at thus seeing a foreign power established in the very heart of their country, and Hengist perceiving their dissatisfaction, and apprehensive of treachery, immediately dispatched a messenger to Saxony with an account of his situation, requesting a powerful reinforcement of his countrymen.

These troops were accompanied by Escus, the eldest son of Hengist, and Rowena his niece, a young lady of consummate personal beauty and mental endowments, in honor of whose arrival the Saxon general prepared a splendid entertainment, to which King Vortigern was invited.

During the entertainment, the beauty and agreeable manners of Rowena, captivated the British prince, who demanded her in marriage of Hengist; but the wily Saxon replied, that he could not bestow his niece on a person who was not only already married, but also a Christian. Vortigern removed these obstacles by divorcing his wife, and consenting that Rowena should have the free exercise of her religion. Their marriage was afterwards solemnized with great pomp, contrary to the sentiments of the British nobles.

This matrimonial union established the Saxons in Britain, for Vortigern, soon afterwards, displaced Gorgonus, the governor of Kent, and invested Hengist and Horsa with the sovereignty of that province, giving them permission to people it with emigrants from Saxony.

The ambitious Hengist, however, resolved to extend his authority throughout Britain, and for that purpose obtained further reinforcements of warriors from time to time, insomuch that he at length was at the head of a powerful army, sufficient to repel any sudden attack of the Britons, who now looked upon him as a professed enemy. He also informed Vortigern, who continued his steadfast friend, that the Britons held a secret correspondence with Ambrosius, a prince descended from Roman ancestors, who was then at the court of Aldwen, King of Armorica or Brittany.

Vortigern, who now despaired of ever regaining the affections of his British subjects, and dreaded Ambrosius as a dangerous rival, applied for advice and assistance to Hengist, who told him that all the Saxons in Britain were at his devotion, and persuaded him to admit a greater number of soldiers from Saxony into Britain.

The British prince agreed to this proposal, and a fleet of forty ships, with a powerful reinforcement, under the command of Octa, landed in this island in the year 452. Hengist now openly complained that the Saxon soldiers had not been paid according to the original contract, and boldly demanded the arrears.

The Britons, exasperated at his conduct, resolved to repress the power of the Saxons, and Vortimer, the son of Vortigern, inspired with patriotic zeal, having entered into a secret confederacy with the principal British nobles, a successful insurrection against Vortigern compelled him to admit his son copartner with him in the government. The British nobles also entrusted the sole management of the public affairs to Vortimer, hence the power of his father was merely nominal and inefficient.

This revolution was the commencement of a sanguinary war between the Saxons and Britons, which ended in the subjugation of the latter ; for although

Vortimer distinguished himself by his valour and wisdom both in the council and the field, his countrymen were driven to such extremities, that by the advice of Guithelin, archbishop of London, they sent ambassadors to the King of Armorica for aid. This application made way for the introduction of Ambrosius, who landed at Totness with ten thousand men ; but his arrival only increased the miseries of the Britons by a civil war between his partizans and those of Vortimer.

Meanwhile the Saxons, profiting by the discord of the Britons, daily took firmer possession of Kent, and the country beyond the Humber. After a civil war of eight years, the kingdom was, by mutual agreement, divided between the contending princes ; the British Kings Vortigern and Vortimer exercising their authority over the eastern, and Ambrosius over the western part of the kingdom ; the highway called Watling-street being the boundary.

At the conclusion of this sanguinary civil war, Briton exhibited a deplorable scene of devastation. Whole districts were depopulated by the sword, tillage neglected, all manufactures and commerce suspended, except the fabrication of warlike instruments ; and as a still further aggravation of internal misery, the coasts were insulted by the piratical Saxons, and the advantage of a commercial intercourse with foreign nations prevented by these desperate adventurers.

During this temporary state of public calamity, the sea-ports of Britain, particularly London and Bristol, were reduced to the verge of ruin.—The merchants were deprived of their property, which was seized under the name of contributions exacted by the predominant party ; and the cheering influence of trade and plenty, was succeeded by penury and indolence.

A narrative of the battles and other memorable events in the history of Britain, during a period of one hundred and thirty years, which terminated in the conquest of the country by the Saxons, would be amusing ; but the annalists

of those ages, as has already been observed, were monks, whose records principally consist of an account of the establishment of monasteries, and the immunities granted to the clergy.—Hence their annals are almost barren of information respecting the state of manners, trade and commerce; and even the actions of those princes recorded by them, are merely mentioned as having a reference to some ecclesiastical endowment.

One hero has, however, engaged their attention, Arthur, the illustrious defender of his country's liberties, is spoken of even by monks with enthusiastic admiration. This British hero made his first campaign under his father, Uter Pendragon, in 466, when he was only fourteen years of age, and even then distinguished himself by a heroism which re-animated the hopes of his countrymen.

In the year 508, Arthur was elected Monarch of Britain, after a series of victories over the Saxons, which completely repressed their encroachments. They still, however, kept possession of Hampshire and Somersetshire, which were granted by Arthur to Cerdic the Saxon general, after the battle of Badon Hill. Cerdic was the founder of the kingdom of Wessex.

During this interval of peace, Arthur rebuilt several churches which had been destroyed by the Saxons, and after a glorious reign, he was mortally wounded in a battle with the Picts, and was interred in the church-yard of Glastonbury.

After the death of Arthur, multitudes of the Angles, a people who inhabited the country contiguous to Saxony, emigrated into Britain, to the aid of the Saxons, who with such powerful auxiliaries, at length succeeded in the total conquest of the country. Having obtained complete possession of the fertile part of Britain, and all its celebrated cities, particularly London, York, and

Bristol, the Saxons gradually established the heptarchy, or seven kingdoms into which that part of the island now known by the name of England, was divided.

The Britons, as a last refuge, retreated across the Severn into Cambria, where they were secured from the fury of the invader by inaccessible morasses and mountains. Wretched indeed was the state of the Britons before they tried this last resource; for when the Saxons became masters of the country they were Pagans, and they persecuted the British Christians with unrelenting cruelty.

“From the east to the west nothing was to be seen but churches burnt and destroyed to their very foundations. The inhabitants were extirpated by the sword, and buried under the ruins of their own houses; and the altars were daily profaned by the blood of Christians who, during their devotions, were slain on them by their merciless persecutors.”*

Bede, who was himself of Saxon origin, and consequently not disposed to exaggerate the cruelties of his countrymen, imputes the persecution of the British Christians to the judgment of Heaven upon their crimes.

“By the hands of the Saxons, a fire was lighted up in Britain, that served to put in execution the just vengeance of God against the wicked Britons, as he had formerly burnt Jerusalem by the Chaldeans. The island was so ravaged by the conquerors, or rather by the hand of God making use of them as instruments, that there seemed to be a continued flame from sea to sea, which burnt up the cities, and covered the surface of the whole isle. Public and private buildings fell in one common ruin. The priests were

* Gildas.

murdered on the altars : the bishop with his flock perished by fire and sword without any distinction, no one daring to give their scattered corpses an honorable burial.”*

About the close of the sixth century, the Anglo-Saxons in Kent, were converted to Christianity by Augustine, a Benedictine Monk, and in the course of fifty years afterwards the gospel was promulgated throughout the heptarchy. At this period Birinus revived the Christian religion among the West Saxons, where all recollection of its doctrines had been extinguished by the persecution of the Saxon Pagans.

The origin of the revival of Christianity in Britain, is recorded by Bede, a priest of Northumberland, who flourished at the commencement of the eighth century. His authority was indeed chiefly traditional ; but the written documents of Pope Gregory authenticate the account given by our first British historian.

“ According to report, on a certain day when merchants lately arrived brought a variety of goods into the market-place at Rome, for to be sold, and many chapmen came to buy, Gregory himself came thither, and beheld among other things, a number of boys exposed to sale. Their bodies were well proportioned, their complexions fair, their hair beautiful, and their countenances sweet and amiable. While Gregory wistfully beheld these boys, he demanded from what country they were brought ; and was answered by the merchant, that they came out of the isle of Britain, where the people in general were as well favoured as they. He then enquired whether those islanders were Christians, or ensnared still with the errors of Paganism ; and the reply was, that they were Paganims, on which he sighed deeply, exclaiming, ‘ Alas, what a pity that the father of darkness should be lord of such bright and beauteous faces,

and that they who are so graceful in their persons, should be destitute of inward grace.' Continuing his enquiries, he desired to know by what name their nation was known. The merchant made answer that they were called Angli; "and well may they be so named," replied he, "for angel-like faces they have, and meet it is that they should be coheirs with angels in heaven."—"But what is the name of the king of the province from whence these youths were brought?" "His name is Aelle," replied the merchant. Then Gregory, in allusion to the name of that prince, said, "that Allelujah should be sung in that province to the praise of God the Creator."

Inspired with a sacred enthusiasm for the promulgation of Christianity among those Pagans, Gregory entreated permission of Pope Benedict, to go and preach the gospel in Britain. The Pope readily consented, and the missionary prepared for his departure, but was persuaded by the entreaties of the people of Rome to defer his voyage.

Gregory, however, still looked forward to the performance of his plan of conversion, and after the death of Boniface being chosen successor to that Pontiff, he appointed Augustine, his chief instrument, in this important work.

Augustine, who was by birth a Roman, and celebrated for his sanctitude, was sent into Britain by Gregory, in the year 596, with forty monks, and several of the inferior clergy, as assistants. In 597, Augustine converted Ethelbert, King of Kent, and the greatest part of his people, whom on the day of Pentecost he baptized in the church of St. Martin, at Canterbury. The same year he went to Arles in Gaul, where he was by the command of Gregory ordained archbishop of the English, by Ethurius, metropolitan of that city.

On his return to England, Augustine was received by Ethelred, Bertha his Queen, and the people in general, with every demonstration of joy and respect.

Soon after his ordination, he sent messengers to Gregory, with an account of the government of the church which he had established among the Saxons, and as a reward for his zeal and success, he was in the year 601, honoured by that Pontiff with the pall,* or in other words nominated metropolitan of Britain.

Augustine is extolled by Bede, and other eminent writers, for his learning and piety; they also praise the apostle of the English for his abstinence, prayers, alms, zeal in the promulgation of Christianity, and earnestness in his endeavours to exterminate Paganism. He is represented as the first introducer of Monks into England, praised for his activity in founding churches, and said to have been endued with the power of working miracles, but accused of pride, against which he was admonished in the following epistle from Pope Gregory himself.

Gregory to Augustine, Bishop of the English.

“Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace, good will towards men, because a grain of corn falling dead upon the earth hath brought forth much fruit, that it might not alone reign in heaven, by whose death we live, by whose infirmity we are strengthened, by whose passion we are delivered from passion, by whose love we sought brethren in Britain whom we knew not, and by whose courtesy, whom not knowing we sought, we have found. Who

* The pall is a piece of fine white woollen cloth, about two inches broad, fastened at the ends, and thrown over the shoulders. To this are fastened two similar pieces, one of which is placed on the breast, and the other on the back, each adorned with a red cross. The upper part of the pall is also ornamented with several smaller crosses of the same colour. The pall is first placed upon St. Peter's tomb by the Pope, and then sent to the respective metropolitans as the badge of their authority. At the delivery of it they swear fealty to the Pope. The ancient pall, from the Latin *Pallium* was an entire and magnificent habit, designed to remind the Bishop that his actions should correspond with the dignity of his appearance. Pet. de Marca.

is able to relate how great the joy is that is arisen in the hearts of the faithful, that through the grace of Almighty God co-operating, and your brotherhood labouring, the darkness of error being driven away, the English nation is covered over with the glorious light of holy faith, that now, out of a sincere mind and pious devotion, it tramples on those idols to which before it blindly crouched, that it prostrates itself before God with a pure heart, that it is restrained from relapsing into sin by the rules and instructions of holy preaching, that it submits in mind to the Divine precepts, but raised in understanding, humbles itself in prayer on the ground, lest in affections it should grovel in the earth? Who, that he might make it manifest to the world that he converts not by wisdom of men, but by his own virtue and power, the preachers he sent into the world he made choice of without learning, using the same method here also, for in the English nation he has wrought mighty things by the hands of weak persons.”*

The promulgation of this benign religion gradually humanized the manners and purified the morals of the Anglo-Saxons. It was zealously promoted in Wessex by King Ina, who began his reign in the year 694. This great prince, who was celebrated as a hero, a legislator, and a devout Christian, rebuilt Glastonbury Abbey on a magnificent plan, and augmented the revenues of that royal establishment, insomuch that it became one of the most considerable Abbeys in England. His code of laws, entitled West-Saxon-leaga, was afterwards improved and amplified by Alfred.†

* Gregorian Register, lib. 9.

† Among the laws of King Ina, the following are particularly curious and illustrative of the manners of the age in which they were established.

Ina by the grace of God, King of the West Saxons, by the advice and institution of Cenred my father, and Heddes and Erkenwald my bishops, with all my aldermen and sage ancients of my people, in a great assembly of the servants of God, have religiously endeavoured, both for the health of our soul, and the common preservation of our kingdom, that right laws and true judgment be founded and established throughout our whole

In the year 727, Ina went to Rome, and with the concurrence of Pope Gregory the second, founded a college for the reception and instruction

dominions, and that it shall not be lawful for the time to come for any alderman, or other person whatever to abolish these our constitutions.

OF GOD'S MINISTERS.

In the first place, we command that the ministers of God keep and observe the appointed rule of living; and next, we will, that amongst all our people these laws and judgments be observed.

OF INFANTS.

A child shall be baptized within thirty days after it is born, if not, the neglect shall be punished 30s.*

OF WORKING ON SUNDAY.

If a servant do any work on Sunday by command of his master, he shall be free, and the master shall pay thirty shillings; but if he went about the work without command from his master, he shall be beaten with stripes, or redeem the penalty of whipping with a price. A freeman, if he work on this day without command of his master, shall lose his freedom, or pay sixty shillings: if he be a priest, his penalty shall be double.

OF THE PRIVILEGE OF A TEMPLE.

If any one guilty of a capital crime shall take refuge in a church, he shall save his life, and make recompense according to justice and equity; if one deserving stripes take sanctuary, he shall have the stripes forgiven him.

OF QUARRELS.

If any one fight within the King's court, he shall forfeit all his goods and chattels, and it shall be at the will and pleasure of the King, whether he be not to lose his life also. He that fights in a cathedral church shall pay 120s; in the house of an Alderman, or another sage nobleman, 60s. Whosoever shall fight in a villager's house paying scot, or any yeoman's, shall be punished 30s. and shall give the villager 6s. And if any one fight in the open field, he shall pay 120s. If there happen among guests a quarrel, and some of them shall patiently take ill language, the rest shall be punished 30s. a piece.

OF THEFT.

If any one shall steal without the privity of his wife and children, he shall be punished 60s. But if he steal his whole family consenting, they shall be given into servitude. A child of ten years old shall be accounted accessory in theft.

OF CLAIMING JUSTICE.

If any plaintiff shall require right to be done him by a judge, and the defendant give no pledge, the judge shall forfeit 30s. and nevertheless within a seven-night do him true justice.

OF SELF-VINDICATION.

He that on his own private account shall take satisfaction for a wrong done to him, before he hath demanded public justice, shall restore what he took away on that account, or give the worth of the thing, and besides forfeit 30s.

* A Saxon shilling was of the value of five-pence sterling.

of all Britons who should come to that city to study divinity. He also built a church contiguous to the college, and appointed a certain number of priests to officiate in it, for whose maintenance he levied a tax of a penny on every family in the kingdoms of Wessex and Sussex. This money was sent annually to Rome, under the name of Rome-scot, afterwards termed Peter-pence.*

After a glorious reign of thirty-nine years, Ina resigned his crown to

OF RAPINE.

If any shall rob within the confines of our state, he shall restore what he hath taken, and be punished 60s.

OF MEN-BUYERS.

If any one shall buy his countryman, either bond or free, or guilty of a crime, and send him beyond sea, he shall pay the value of his head, and give over and above sufficient satisfaction.

OF FALSE WITNESS.

If any before a bishop give false witness or pledge, he shall be amerced 120s.

OF ROBBERS TAKEN.

If a robber be taken, he shall lose his life or redeem it according to the estimation of his head. We call robbers to the number of seven men, and from seven to thirty-five a band; all above an army.

OF A THIEF SLAYER.

He that shall slay a thief shall make oath he slew him for his theft only; but nevertheless he shall not be exempted from all payment to his friends.

OF A KING'S VILLAIN.

A King's villain's oath is valued at sixty hides of land; and if he be a housekeeper, the estimation of his head is twelve hundred shillings.

OF AN INFANT EXPOSED.

For the breeding up an infant exposed, the first year shall be given 6s.; the second year 12s.; the third year 30s.; and afterwards according to his worth.

OF HIM THAT SHALL BUY A WOMAN.

If any one buy a woman, and performeth not the bargain, he shall give the money itself, and pay as much more, and nevertheless suffer such penalties as if he had violated his security.

OF A BOOR THAT POSSESETH LAND.

A welchman that holdeth a whole hyde of land shall be valued at 120s. his head; if he hath but half a hyde, at 80s.; if none at all, 60s.

Adeland his kinsman, and retired into a monastery, a kind of self-denial and devotion held in the highest estimation by his cotemporaries.

In the year 800, King Egbert began his reign over the West Saxons, and after a series of conflicts and victories, he obtained the sovereignty of the heptarchy, which by his edict issued in the year 829, were united under the common appellation of England.*

This warlike prince was scarcely established in his sovereign power, when England was invaded by a host of northern pirates, known by the general name of Danes, who landed at Charmouth in Dorsetshire, in the year 833.

Egbert marched against the invaders with an army hastily collected, and attacked them near the sea-shore, but was defeated and compelled to retreat with precipitation, being so closely pursued, that he was indebted to the friendly shades of night for the preservation of his life. The victors having plundered the country adjacent to the coast, re-imbarked with their spoils.

The Danes, who subsisted chiefly by piracy and plunder, thus began a contest with the English, which was reiterated for ages, and at length terminated in the establishment of a Danish monarch on the English throne. Those northern barbarians were Pagans, and their idolatry rendered them more sanguinary against the English, who were Christians. Hence the predatory warfare of the pirates was attended with wanton devastations; whatever they could not carry off, they

* It is probable that Egbert only revived or confirmed the name of England, for we find in Bede's ecclesiastical history, that the three nations settled in Great Britain were called Angli, or English. Bede wrote 150 years before the reign of King Egbert; and in his laws enacted for the West Saxons, styles them Englishmen. "If an Englishman" says he, "commits theft." "If a Welch slave shall kill an Englishman," &c. Brampton's Leges Inæ. l. 26. lex. 78.

destroyed with fire, and the coasts most favourable to their descent, especially those of Northumberland, were desolated.

An outrage fatal in its consequences to the tranquillity of England, proved favourable to the ambitious projects of the Danes. Osbert, King of Northumberland, on his return from hunting stopped at the house of Bruern Brocard, a nobleman who in consequence of his abilities was appointed guardian of the coasts against the descents of the Danes. Bruern was absent, engaged in the duties of his important office, and his lady, a woman of uncommon beauty and accomplishments, entertained her royal visitor, who, enchanted with her attractions, under pretence of communicating a secret of great importance to her husband, led her to a remote apartment, and solicited her compliance with his amorous desires. The lady rejected the suit of Osbert with all the dignity of offended virtue, but that brutal prince having recourse to force, left the victim of his inordinate passion in a state of dishonour and affliction.

Buern, on his return home, was made acquainted with this infamous outrage, and incited by revenge, thenceforward exerted all his influence against the ravisher. The people, exasperated at the wrongs of Bruern, revolted, and proclaimed Ella King of Northumberland. A civil war ensued, which deprived Osbert of one half of his dominions; but the injured honour of Bruern was unappeasable, and he resolved to apply for foreign redress.

Accordingly he made a voyage to Denmark, disclosed his wrongs to King Ivar, and intreated his aid. The ambition of the Danish prince eagerly embraced an enterprize which promised so much fame and emolument. In the ensuing spring he entered the Humber with a large fleet, landed a formidable army, which spread terror throughout England, and in two battles conquered both Osbert and Ella, and took possession of Northumberland. The victor afterwards penetrated into the country as far as Nottingham, where Buthred King of Mercia, and

Ethelred King of Wessex, were ready with their united forces to oppose him ; but Ivar thought it expedient to retreat into his newly acquired territories without hazarding a battle.

In their progress through England the idolatrous Danes committed terrible ravages, and destroyed the churches and monasteries wherever they came. The Abbess of Coldingham, on the approach of this barbarous encmy, persuaded the nuns to disfigure themselves, by cutting off their noses and upper lips, for the preservation of their chastity ; but the Danish soldiers were so much exasperated at the appearance of these victims of virtue, that they set fire to the nunnery, and destroyed the whole sisterhood in the flames.

Ivar on his return to Northumberland, resolved on the conquest of the eastern provinces of England, and embarking a chosen body of troops he sailed along the coast, and made a descent upon East Anglia, which submitted to him, after a decisive battle. This success inspired Ivar with ambition to complete the conquest of England. Accordingly he sailed for the coast of Wessex with a powerful army, landed his troops, and advanced as far as Reading, where he was met by Ethelred, King of Wessex, who, accompanied by Alfred his brother, had marched to oppose the invader.

In the course of the campaign, nine pitched battles were fought with various success, victory sometimes declaring for one competitor, and sometimes for another. Alfred distinguished himself for his valour and presence of mind throughout this arduous and important contest ; and when his brother Ethelred received a mortal wound in the ninth battle, the youthful hero was appointed his successor. This illustrious prince ascended the throne of his ancestors in the year 872, when the enemy had obtained a footing in the very heart of his kingdom.

During an almost uninterrupted contest of fourteen years with the Danish settlers in England, who were aided by powerful armies of their countrymen

which invaded the kingdom at different points, Alfred was at length reduced to the necessity of disbanding his small army, and seeking refuge wherever Providence should direct his steps. The Isle of Athelney afforded an asylum to this illustrious fugitive; and while numbers of the dispirited English crossed the Severn to seek shelter in the woody and mountainous regions of South Wales, several of the principal nobles and their brave and patriotic adherents, concealed themselves in various parts of Wessex, particularly Selwood Forest.

A cavern discovered about forty years ago on the south-west bank of the Avon, near Bristol, was probably one of the hiding-places of those true patriots, who still looked forward to the moment when they might be instrumental to the emancipation of their country.

The situation of this subterraneous retreat was favourable to the security of the refugees, for several reasons. Bristol, rendered almost uninhabitable by the ravages of Danish plunderers, was at this period abandoned by its inhabitants; and as the victors had nothing to apprehend from the maritime armaments of the English, they probably plundered the city, and afterwards reduced it to ruins.

Hence Bristol became desolate; the cheerful sounds of population were no longer heard in the streets, which presented nothing but a general scene of ruin and dilapidation. The country in its vicinity was in many places overgrown with wood, particularly the hills above the cavern; and all these circumstances rendered that retreat at once secluded and secure. At the same time it was an advantageous situation, which enabled the refugees to hold a communication by water with the inhabitants of South Wales, and those of the western extremity of the island.

From the extent of the cavern, it was sufficiently capacious to contain some thousands of troops; and the following description, from actual observation,

may enable the antiquary to account for this extraordinary and extensive excavation.

The entrance from the river-side is evidently of modern masonry, and was probably made when the cavern was discovered in the year 1768 ; but the excavations have every appearance of great antiquity. A passage of a few yards leads to a kind of apartment from which two branches extend to a distance that has not yet been fully explored. The roof of the cavern is in general about five feet high, composed of solid rock, and supported by rude square columns rising on each side in the form of an arch. The rock is reddish, similar to that from which the parish of Redcliff takes its name, and the excavation must have been made with great labour. It was probably hewn out with hatchets or bills, the traces of which are visible on the roof and pillars.

Fissures are perceptible in different parts of the roof ; they were probably made for the admission of air, which in general is sufficiently pure for the support of animal life. The two branches extending from the mouth of the cavern appear afterwards to unite, and several of the inferior branches terminate in a kind of recess. A straight passage of several yards in length, and sufficiently broad for two persons to pass, leads to an irregular area, the roof of which is at least seven feet high, and the space sufficient to contain fifty men. On proceeding along the principal passage, another more capacious apartment, but with a lower roof, presents itself, and several still lower apertures or excavations, leading to different parts of the cavern, at once tend to bewilder the visitor, and amuse his imagination, by their singular appearance. They are so deeply involved in darkness, that it would require several lights to illumine the place. The floor in general is irregular, and in some places damp, so that the cavern at best must have been a most uncomfortable habitation ; a place of refuge which nothing but the hope of preserving life, and regaining of liberty, could have rendered tolerable even to the most resolute individual.

How the refugees of this subterraneous habitation were supplied with food, is now unknown. Probably alternate parties issued from their hiding place, and collected flocks and herds for subsistence; a small supply of fish might also have been obtained. It is not improbable that King Alfred himself occasionally sought refuge in this retreat; for it is recorded "that he was constreyned for a time to kepe himself close within the fennes and marrisse groundes of Somersetshire with such small companies as he had aboute him."*

After having experienced a variety of remarkable vicissitudes, which shall be related in his biography, King Alfred was eventually victorious over the enemies of his country. In the year 887, he equipped a fleet, rebuilt the dismantled castles on the sea-shore, and built several new fortresses, among which was the castle of Bristol.

The remains of a chapel yet to be seen in a house and warehouse in Tower-street, Bristol, are probably of Saxon origin. The low roof arched with stone, and the rude pilasters, were doubtless erected before the invasion of the Norman conqueror; and we may venture with the eye of retrospection to view the great and pious Alfred himself assisting at the consecration of this chapel.

Alfred was crowned in the year 871, and in 887 he began to fortify several towns for the security of the inhabitants, and the protection of commerce, which under his benignant auspices, began to flourish in England. Among the sea-ports Bristol was conspicuous. Indeed its situation, as a frontier town on the banks of a navigable river, gave it a decided superiority over every other sea-port in Wessex, a province in which Alfred experienced his most remarkable vicissitudes, and to which he was naturally attached as his hereditary dominion. Bristol, therefore, was not neglected by a sovereign, who afforded every

* Hollinshead, p. 214.

encouragement to incite the enterprize of the mariner and the merchant; and were we in possession of records respecting the eventful and important epoch in which a hero and philosopher dispensed the choicest blessings of civilization to his countrymen, we should be enabled to authenticate the fact, that Bristol was then a prosperous commercial city, inferior only to London itself in foreign and domestic traffick.

That he first built the castle of Bristol for the protection of this sea-port against a foreign enemy, can no longer be doubted, if we recur to the improvements made during his reign; nay, it is probable that he enlarged and adorned the city itself, at the same period of time that he built other towns. It must doubtless be a refined gratification to the present inhabitants of this ancient city, to know that a fortress was built for the protection of their ancestors, by a prince renowned for every civic and every social virtue; and that Bristol, which has been so often honored with the presence of kings, and other illustrious personages, derives an additional claim to antiquity and splendour, from its having been favoured with the munificence, and protected by the genius of the immortal Alfred.

Blest, Alfred, be thy honored name!
 A people's voice of praise is sweet,
 And sweet the songs his car that greet,
 The prince whose bosom glows with freedom's flame.

See Britain rising from her seat,
 Proud of her rights and equal laws,
 Ardent in freedom's sacred cause,
 She formed thee *wise* and has proclaimed thee *great*.

When the valour and wisdom of Alfred re-established the peace and liberty of his countrymen, he introduced improvements in several arts and manufactures, particularly ship-building, agriculture, architecture, and the fabrication of linen

and woollen cloths. Under his patronage the useful arts flourished; the Anglo-Saxons became skilful in the manufacture of flax and wool, which they dyed of various colours. The perfection to which they brought the arts of spinning, dying, and weaving, will receive some illustration from the following simile of a Saxon author.* “It is not the web of one uniform colour and texture, without any variety of figures, that pleases the eye, and appears beautiful; but one that is woven by shuttles, filled with threads of purple and various other colours, flying from side to side, and forming a variety of figures and images, in different compartments with admirable art.”

The traces and remains of mines and potteries yet discoverable in several places in the vicinity of Berkeley, Sodbury, Bath, and Bristol, afford proofs that considerable manufactures of iron, and earthen-ware, exercised the industry and ingenuity of the Anglo-Saxons, and contributed essentially to the commercial prosperity of *Caer Bristou*, recorded by two of our historians to have been a flourishing sea-port at this auspicious era.†

Bristol certainly was a place of considerable importance during the reign of Alfred, and his successor; for we are informed by an antiquarian, “that about the year 900, Aylward, a valiant Saxon nobleman, related to Edward the elder, was lord of Brightstowe, and founder of the monastery of Cranbourne.”‡

Having thus from a variety of documents authenticated the fact that Alfred was an active patron of Bristol, and that the city rapidly increased in commerce, opulence, and population, under his protection, a biographical sketch of his eventful life will probably afford new gratification to the present descendants of those citizens, who gladdened by his presence, and encouraged by his example, cultivated those useful and elegant arts which adorn human nature.

* Aldhelm Bishop of Sherborn.

† Gildas and Ninnius.

‡ Leland.

THE LIFE OF ALFRED, KING OF ENGLAND.

“ Wouldst thou gain thy Country’s loud applause,

“ Be thou the bold assertor of her cause ;

“ Her voice in council, in the fight her sword.

“ In peace, in war, pursue thy Country’s good,

“ For her, bare thy bold breast, and pour thy generous blood.”

CHOICE OF HERCULES.

Alfred, the fourth son of Ethelwulph,* king of Wessex, was born at Wantage†, in Berkshire, A. D. 848. His father was a prince remarkable for piety, and his veneration for the Pope induced him to send Alfred to Rome, in the fifth year of his age, to receive the pontifical benediction.

Pope Leo IV. not only received the young prince with cordiality, and a prompt compliance with his father’s request, but also conferred on him the royal unction, from an anticipation that he should be exalted to regal dignity.‡ On his return to England he resided at Wantage, which was then a royal villa, where Ethelwulph held his court.

Few particulars respecting the juvenile amusements or pursuits of Alfred, have reached posterity. The public records were then entirely entrusted to the monks, who were the only historians of those ages, which have been justly and emphatically termed dark ; whatever had a tendency to establish the clerical authority over an ignorant and uncivilized laity, was recorded with care ; but the more interesting facts relative to characters, manners, arts and sciences, were thought unworthy of notice, by those superstitious and illiterate annalists.

* Ethelwulph, soon after he ascended the throne, married the beautiful Osburga, his butler’s daughter, a queen who had the happiness to be the mother of Alfred the Great.....HOLLINSHED.

† Wanating, or Wantage, was then a royal manor.

‡ Asserius.

When Alfred was twelve years of age, he accidentally turned his attention to literature. One day in the presence of his mother, Osburga, he happened to open a little book belonging to the queen, and being much delighted with its ornaments, which consisted of capital letters in gold, and a variety of brilliant colours, he expressed an earnest wish to become the possessor. At this time he was ignorant of letters; and his mother who was capable of giving him instruction, promised to give him the book, on condition that he should commit the contents to memory. Alfred undertook the task with such assiduity and success, that he soon read, and repeated the task to his mother; and from this incident his love of learning increased, insomuch that he became one of the most accomplished scholars of the age.

His principal attention in his youth seems to have been devoted alternately to literature and those martial exercises which were indispensable in an age, when valour was considered the principal virtue. Nor does it appear that the cultivation of his intellect diminished his natural intrepidity, which a series of wonderful vicissitudes afterwards proved to be equal to that of the most renowned heroes of Greece or Rome. Alfred was endowed with a combination of extraordinary talents, which were afterwards matured by adversity, and experience; and a candid investigation of his character will prove that he was in the extremes of adversity and prosperity, one of the most remarkable men that ever existed.

It is a singular fact, that his three brethren who swayed the sceptre of Wessex in succession, died in the course of sixteen years. Ethelred, indeed, fell in the field of battle, covered with glory; and Alfred, his successor, was crowned in the twenty-third year of his age.

The accession of Alfred to the throne of his ancestors, was considered by his subjects as an auspicious circumstance. They had already, on many important occasions, been witnesses to his valour and prudence. When he came

to the crown, the Danes had penetrated into the very centre of the kingdom, and were in possession of several of the sea-ports, particularly Exeter and Bristol. Those terrible and barbarous marauders, who lived entirely by piracy and plunder, spread devastation wherever they came; and Alfred, in less than a month after his coronation, was obliged to march against them, at the head of an army hastily embodied.

The Danes, who had advanced as far as Wilton, were attacked by the West-Saxons, who, notwithstanding the courage and skill of their leader, were, after a desperate conflict, compelled to retreat before the victorious invaders. Undismayed by this defeat, Alfred again led his men against the Danes, who, astonished at his intrepidity, and ignorant of his resources, sued for peace. They offered to march out of his dominions, on condition that he would not pursue them to any other part of England. He complied with the terms; and without delay, increased his military force, for the protection of the state against future invasion.

This precaution was indispensable, for the Danes, who were Pagans, disregarded the performance of their engagements, and were equally perfidious, treacherous, and cruel. They ravaged the other provinces of England, having made themselves masters of Mercia, East-Anglia, and Northumberland; and Hubba, their general, a man of inordinate ambition, again prepared to attempt the conquest of Wessex, which then contained the other four kingdoms that formerly composed the Heptarchy. But the known valour of Alfred and his subjects, induced Hubba to defer his project. His people now began to cultivate the lands of which they had taken possession, and the inhabitants of Wessex enjoyed a temporary tranquillity under the government of their benignant sovereign.

Halfdén, another Danish adventurer, however, landed in East Anglia, in the year 875, and advancing into Wessex, took Warham Castle, in Dorsetshire, by surprise. Alfred, who, in consequence of his treaty with Hubba, thought himself

secure from the depredations of the Danes, was not sufficiently prepared for the repulsion of this new invader, and endeavoured to avert the miseries of war from his people by a treaty with Halfden, who ratified his agreement by an oath, that he would never again set foot in Wessex.*

But this perfidious warrior, regardless of his oath, on his march towards Mercia attacked a body of English cavalry, slew the men, and mounting part of his own troops on the horses, marched to Exeter, which he immediately besieged.

When the news of this transaction reached Alfred, he convened a general assembly of his nobles, and exhorted them to unanimity and resolution, in defence of their country, against Pagans, who were regardless of all laws, human and divine.

“Let us, my countrymen,” said the magnanimous prince, “sacrifice every private consideration to the public weal. This is the trying moment, in which we must be decisive, if we hope to preserve our country from spoliation, our women from dishonour, ourselves from ignominy, and our posterity from vassalage to Pagan barbarians. There is no reliance to be placed on the oaths or contracts of those lawless banditti; for if we enter into an amicable treaty with the present invader, another host of desperadoes, unacquainted with the promised amity of their countrymen, will pour in upon us from the northern regions, and commence a new career of devastation. It remains for us then, my friends, to rouse our native valour. Animated in the cause of our homes, our altars, and all that can render life honourable or dear, let us repel in the field those ferocious savages, who delight in destruction. Though unequal in number, we are superior in courage, and Heaven will doubtless prosper our efforts, in defence of the liberties of our country.”

* The most solemn manner of swearing among the Danes, and other northern nations, was by their arms.

This exhortation excited a generous sentiment of patriotism : an army was levied by the nobles, and Alfred led them against the Danes. He engaged the enemy seven times in one campaign, without being able to give them a complete overthrow. Consequently he was once more necessitated to enter into another treaty with Halfdan, who agreed to quit the territories of Alfred, and return no more.

But although this army of Danes, from a conviction of the military prowess of Alfred, thought it expedient to perform their engagement, another host, under the command of Rollo, poured in upon the coast of Wessex. Fortunately Alfred was yet in the field, and he immediately marched to repel this new enemy. He was successful, and Rollo, disconcerted at this sudden repulse, reembarked his troops, and made a descent on the Continent, where he afterwards became so famous as a conqueror, that he was styled the scourge of France.

The reiterated invasions of the Danes, which kept England in continual alarm, induced Alfred to devise means for their effectual repulsion. His inventive genius, in an auspicious moment for the liberty of England, suggested the equipment of a fleet, by which he should be enabled effectually to resist the enemy on an element where they had hitherto roved with unlimited power. He soon realized his project, by inventing a galley wrought with oars, and of such a size and construction, as rendered it an overmatch for any Danish vessel. The ships of the Danes were merely transports, fit only for the conveyance of troops, stores, or merchandize ; but the galleys of Alfred, of which he soon equipped one hundred, were strong, and built purposely for war. Thus Alfred first taught Britons to repel the invader from their shores, and by a mode of warfare for which their insular situation was peculiarly favourable, they eventually prevailed, insomuch that at this moment their descendants are in possession of the empire of the ocean.

This first English fleet was sent on a cruise, and falling in with six Danish vessels, captured the largest of them, filled with soldiers, who were immediately thrown overboard,—an historic fact, which affords a striking proof of the ferocity of warfare in those ages, and the hatred which our ancestors harboured against those invaders of their country.

Soon afterwards, one hundred and twenty sail of Danish transports, on approaching the western coast of England to land their troops, were attacked by King Alfred's galleys with such resolution and effect, that the greater part of them were sunk, and the rest dispersed. This important naval victory was obtained by the English in the year 876, and the next year another Danish fleet was wrecked on the coast of Wessex.

Encouraged by those favourable circumstances, Alfred marched to besiege Exeter, which was then a fortified town, occupied by a Danish garrison. The Danes were compelled to capitulate, to give the conqueror hostages, and entirely evacuate Wessex.

But the Danes were still in possession of three of the ancient kingdoms of the heptarchy; and invited by the fertility of Wessex, they entered into a secret combination to invade that kingdom, which had hitherto successfully resisted their attacks. Having concentrated all their forces, they marched towards Wessex, before Alfred could possibly put himself in a posture of defence. They penetrated into the kingdom, besieged Chippenham, a strong town which they soon stormed, and putting all the inhabitants to the sword, proceeded in their victorious career without further opposition.

At this calamitous juncture, the West-Saxons seemed bereft of their natural courage, and fled before the terrible invader. Numbers of them crossed the Severn, and sought an asylum in Wales; others betook themselves to their

gallies, and put to sea; while the remainder submitted to the dominion of their conquerors.

All the sea-ports in the kingdom were now occupied by the Danes, and among others Bristol, which had been voluntarily abandoned by as many of the inhabitants as could put to sea, or seek refuge in Cambria: consequently, whatever property remained became the prize of the victorious barbarians, who with heathenish malignity, destroyed all places consecrated to religion, which had been erected in the city.

During this scene of public distress, Alfred was forsaken by all his terrified adherents, except a few of his own household servants, who, from motives of duty and affection, continued their attendance. But their sovereign, after giving them advice suitable to their circumstances, dismissed them, and alone sought a place of security from the enemy.

While he wandered along the bank of the Thone, he came to the confluence of that river with the Parret, where a small river island engaged his attention. The spot was remote from all appearance of human habitations, but he observed that a narrow foot-path led through a morass to the isle, which appeared overgrown with alders, thorns, and briers. The king proceeded cautiously along the quaking path, and on entering the isle, discovered a cottage, inhabited by a neatherd and his wife. Here concealed alike from friends and enemies, the royal guest met a hospitable reception, and was occasionally employed by his hostess about her household affairs. Of this fact there is an anecdote on record.

“ Having one day placed a cake upon the coals, with directions to the king to turn it, while she was busied with something else, Alfred, whose mind was probably engaged in some project for the emancipation of his countrymen,

neglected his charge. The cake was burnt, and his hostess chid him severely, telling him that "though he would not take the trouble to turn the cake, he could eat it fast enough."*

While Alfred thus continued in a state of seclusion from the world, an unexpected event revived the hopes of the West Saxons. Hubba, the Danish general, invaded Wales, which he devastated with fire and sword. He afterwards sailed along the coast of Devonshire, where he landed, and continued his desolating progress. The Earl of Devon, with a troop of brave followers, retired into Kinwith Castle, to avoid the fury of the Danes; it was immediately besieged, and the garrison came to the desperate resolution of opening a passage with their swords through the ranks of the enemy. Their leader, whose eloquence had persuaded them to make this noble effort, sallied forth sword in hand, and, supported by his gallant followers, attacked the Danes with such impetuosity, that he threw them into disorder. The West-Saxons, animated by this success, continued to press the enemy, without giving them time to recover from their surprise, and defeated them with great slaughter. Hubba was slain, and the famous Danish standard, the *Reafen*, or raven, fell into the hands of the victors.

The news of this event was communicated to Alfred by the neatherd. The king immediately discovered himself to the hospitable peasant, and sent him with a message to the nobility who yet remained in the kingdom, requiring their attendance. Hastening to his retreat, a number of his faithful nobles came to receive the commands of their sovereign: he gave them instructions to collect small bodies of troops, in different parts of the kingdom, stationed so that they might co-operate in any emergency.

But Alfred and his adherents were unacquainted with the force and position of the enemy; it was therefore expedient that a spy should be sent to obtain

the requisite information. The king resolved to engage in this dangerous public service himself; and in the habit of a minstrel, with a harp in his hand, he boldly entered the Danish camp. His disguise and skill as a musician deceived the enemy, who, though ferocious as tigers, were vincible by harmony.—Having continued some days in the enemy's camp, and made the necessary observations, he returned to a few of his nobles, who remained at the river-*isle*, which was afterwards called *Æthelingley*,* or *the isle of nobles*, as a memorial of the interesting fact, that it was once the court of Alfred the Great.

Alfred appointed Selwood Forest as the rendezvous of his army; and in a few days, so great was the joy of his subjects when informed that their king was alive, and their indignation against those enemies who had reduced him to adversity, that he found himself at the head of a powerful body of forces, with which he immediately marched to attack the Danes.

Surprised at this unexpected opposition, the Danes were thrown into evident confusion on the approach of Alfred, who, in a short and animated address to his countrymen, called forth all their martial enthusiasm. He then gave the signal of battle, and attacked the Danish van with irresistible valour. The conflict was long and sanguinary, but it ended in the total discomfiture of the Danes, who were entirely destroyed, except a small number that retreated into an adjacent castle.

These fugitives were immediately besieged by the victorious English, who' animated by the example and presence of their king, soon compelled the Danes to capitulate. According to the terms granted by Alfred, he agreed to give possession of East Anglia to those Danes who were willing to become

* Distant from Taunton, in Somersetshire, about five miles.—Hollinshead's Brit. Hist. p. 217.

Christians; but required that the rest should immediately quit the island, never to return to England. Hostages were also required for the performance of this agreement. Guthrum, governor of East Anglia, who after the death of Hubba commanded the Danish army, agreed to these conditions; and having shipped off all those Danes who refused to be baptized, he surrendered himself, with thirty of his chief officers, to Alfred. The king was his sponsor at the font, and gave him the name of Athelstan.*

Alfred treated the vanquished Danes with great humanity, and honourably performed his engagement with them; in consequence of which, all their countrymen who had settled in the three kingdoms of the Angles, submitted to his authority, and swore allegiance to him as their sovereign. Hence, by a single but decisive victory, Alfred not only conquered the Danes, but was re-established in his kingdom, with an accession of power, from the submission of his neighbours.

But the Danes were insincere, and embraced Christianity more from necessity than principle: they considered their oath of allegiance to Alfred merely as the exaction of a conqueror, and as such, no longer binding than suited their own convenience. With these sentiments, they were ready to revolt whenever a favourable opportunity should occur; and when Hastings, a Danish pirate, landed in Kent, he was joined by a great number of his countrymen, and marched to besiege Rochester. But the vigilance of Alfred baffled those desperadoes; he advanced with his army by forced marches to oppose them, and compelled them to abandon their plunder, and retreat with precipitation to their ships.

When Alfred was completely re-established on the throne, he turned his attention to the protection of his subjects from the future invasions of those

* Hollinshead's Brit. Hist. p. 214.

Danish rovers, who, by dividing their piratical fleet into small squadrons, had long infested the coasts of England, and rendered them uninhabitable. For this purpose he built a fleet, manned it with the utmost expedition, and entrusted the command of it to an admiral of invincible courage, with instructions to take or destroy all Danish vessels, without distinction.

The English fleet sailed on a cruise off the coast, and the admiral having observed sixteen of the enemy's ships at anchor in the port of Harwich, he attacked, and captured or sunk the whole. His vigilance and resolution soon cleared the seas of the Danish pirates, who no longer ventured to approach a coast where destruction awaited them, and the kingdom was soon restored to a state of tranquillity.

But the subjugation of the Danes was considered by Alfred incomplete, while they remained in possession of London; which situated on a navigable river, was favourable to a communication with Denmark, and consequently exposed England to the danger of future invasion. He therefore besieged that city with such vigour, that the Danes were soon compelled to come to a capitulation.

Alfred being now master of London, which was the most populous city in the kingdom, he made it the royal residence, and convened the assembly of the states there, which was held twice every year, for the establishment of the laws. By this public measure, he awed the Danish residents, who, admitted to a participation of rights with his other subjects, acknowledged that sovereignty against which they were no longer able to rebel.

In the year 887, an universal tranquillity prevailed throughout England; and for the future protection of the seacoast, Alfred built several castles and forts, insomuch that there was not an inlet accessible to an enemy which was left unfortified.

Prior to this important epoch, which is the most remarkable recorded in English history, Bristol, in common with several sea-ports, had been reduced to a ruinous state, having been abandoned by the principal part of its inhabitants, when the edifices consecrated to the worship of the Deity were destroyed by the malignity of the heathenish Danes. It was now rebuilt by Alfred, who undoubtedly was the founder of its Castle, as has already been mentioned.*

Thus protected by the wisdom and valour of their sovereign, the English ventured to repeople those towns and districts adjacent to the seacoast, which had for some years been abandoned. All the benefits of peace, plenty, and prosperity, gradually arose like a new creation out of the chaos of a disorganized state, which was now restored to order by the active beneficence of a prince, who might indeed be denominated the vicegerent of the Deity, appointed to protect, instruct, and humanize his countrymen.

Alfred was acknowledged by the different provinces as King of England; the Welch became his tributaries, and the King of Scotland paid him homage. Even the Danes who remained in England were so struck with admiration of his clemency and justice, that they cheerfully submitted to his authority. This sudden exaltation, however, was uninjurious to a sovereign, who evinced his magnanimity in the extremes of adversity and prosperity. He was ever the same dignified hero and humble Christian.

In private life he was amiable and unassuming according to the most authentic records. His consort, Ethelswitha, was the daughter of Ethelred, Earl of Mercia, and their progeny were two sons and three daughters.†

* Page 70.

† Hollinsheads British History, p. 216.

But it is in the public character of Alfred that we are to contemplate the preeminence of that master-mind, which has since commanded the gratitude and veneration of posterity. England, during the incursions of the Danes, had been reduced to a state of lawless degradation. Every religious and moral tie was dissolved in the general confusion and carnage. Man plundered or assassinated his fellow-creature without compassion or restraint, for the subversion of government and the suspension of law, permitted the uncontrolled depredations of banditti. Consequently, on the restoration of Alfred, he found himself at the head of an ignorant and intractable people, whose respect for their sovereign was principally excited by their conviction of his superiority in military prowess and skill.

Thus circumstanced, the comprehensive mind of this great legislator looked forward, through the vista of anticipation, to happier times, when ignorance and ferocity would give place to intellectual refinement, and the humanizing arts of civilization. With the ardour of intuitive genius he beheld the gradual progress of posterity, through all the gradations of improvement and exaltation, to the proud zenith of national glory. With his own hand he formed the basis of that superstructure, which has since been the envy of surrounding nations; and hence, Alfred the Great may, under the guidance of Divine Providence, be considered as the tutelary genius of British liberty, virtue, and happiness.

For the reorganization of the state, Alfred devised equitable laws, tending at once to protect the weak and repress the violent. He restrained the self-love of man from the perpetration of injustice, by the inculcation of moral principles; and directed the natural propensity of the human heart to self-gratification, to its proper object, by the immunities and honours conferred on merit.

He digested a code founded on the decalogue, and several of the judicial laws of the Old Testament; united with many of those of his predecessor, Ina; Offa, King of Mercia; and Ethelbert, King of Kent.*

* Spelman

For the investigation and establishment of this code, he summoned a convocation, consisting of a secret council of a select number of individuals, who were in the confidence of their sovereign; a second council, composed of bishops, earls, judges, and some of the principal thanes or barons; and a third council, called the Wittena-gemot, or assembly of the nation, to which rank and office entitled the individual to admission independent of the sovereign. This *first English parliament* assisted the king with their advice and concurrence, and facilitated the equal distribution of justice.

For the better protection of his subjects from outrage or injustice, Alfred ordained, that in all criminal actions, twelve men, chosen with the approbation of the person accused, should determine the matter according to evidence; and that the judge should pronounce sentence, agreeably to their decision. Numerous banditti and vagabond depredators still infested several parts of the kingdom, for the suppression of whom, and the restoration of order and justice, the king divided England into counties, hundreds, and tythings. Every householder was responsible for the conduct of his wife, his children under fifteen years of age, and his domestic servants. The tything was accountable for the householder, the hundred for the tythings, and the county for the hundreds. Hence the body politic was like a regulated machine, under the control of the mechanist; while the protection so impartially afforded to every individual, operated as an excitement to industry.

Internal peace and subordination being thus established, the sovereign embodied the militia; each county furnishing its quota proportionate to the population. These troops, commanded by the earls or governors of the counties, were always in readiness to march to any point, for the defence of the state; while the fleet, augmented and divided into small squadrons, cruised round the island to prevent invasion.

Having thus provided for the security of his people, Alfred turned their attention to the benefits arising from manufactures and commerce. For this purpose he built several ships, which he let to merchants, who, availing themselves of the royal patronage, and the advantages of their insular situation, soon realized wealth, by a commercial intercourse with other nations. Artificers and manufacturers were invited from the Continent, by the encouragement so liberally held out to them by the English sovereign; a spirit of national enterprize was roused, especially in the sea-ports, the choicest produce of distant climes was imported, and English merchandise exported in exchange* Thus realizing the benefits of commercial union, so beautifully described by the poet.

"Heaven speed the canvass gallantly unfurl'd,
 "To furnish and accommodate a world;
 "To give the pole the produce of the sun,
 "And knit the unsocial climates into one.—
 "Soft airs and gentle heavings of the wave
 "Impel the fleet, whose errand is to save,
 "To succour wasted regions, and replace
 "The smile of Opulence in Sorrow's face—
 "Let nothing adverse, nothing unforeseen,
 "Impede the bark, that ploughs the deep serene,
 "Charg'd with a freight transcending in its worth,
 "The gems of India, Nature's rarest birth,
 "That flies like Gabriel on his Lord's commands,
 "A herald of God's love to Pagan lands."

How different is the prospect presented by England in the course of a few years! Instead of the smoking ruins of sea-ports, plundered and destroyed by

* We are told by Malmsbury, that King Alfred sent a present to the Indies in honour of St. Thomas. Sigelin, bishop of Sherborn, was employed to deliver it, and that prelate returned with precious stones, perfumes, and other oriental commodities, which were then great rarities in England. It is thought that those valuable gems adorned the crown which he wore on solemn occasions.

pirates, while the interior exhibited scenes of carnage, misery, and despoliation, we behold our ancestors, under the protecting genius of Alfred, cultivating the useful and ornamental arts of peace, defended by an army and navy, and adventuring, with all the animation of enterprise, to distant regions of the globe. Hence the origin of the opulence, refinement, and elegance of London, Bristol, and other maritime towns, in which the inhabitants enjoy all the privileges and gratifications that can render life desirable and happy.

When Alfred had contributed to the political and commercial prosperity of his people, he introduced those elegant arts which so essentially promote the rational pleasures of man. An ardent votary of literature, himself he patronised the arts and sciences with unbounded liberality; and having invited over learned men from foreign countries, he stationed them in the several dioceses for the instruction of the people. In the year 886 he founded three schools or colleges at Oxford,* and expended a part of his revenue in the education of several young noblemen, who were instructed in every branch of knowledge that might qualify them for employments of trust and honour in the state. Some of those noble pupils were educated at court, under the immediate eye of the sovereign, and others at Oxford.

The piety of Alfred was as sincere as his love of learning, and he built three abbeys for the accommodation of the recluse and devout. The first of these was founded in the Isle of Athelney, as a memorial of his pious gratitude. "This isle had formerly a bridge between two towers, which were built by King Alfred; also a very large grove of alders, full of goats and deer; but

the firm ground not above two acres. Upon this he built a monastery,* the whole structure whereof is supported by four posts fastened in the ground, with four arched chancels around it."† Alfred also built Winchester Abbey, then called the new minster, and the nunnery at Shaftesbury, of which his own daughter, the Princess Elgiva, was the first abbess.

* A small curious amulet of enamel and gold, richly ornamented, was found in 1693, in Newton Park, at some distance northward from the Abbey. On one side of it is a rude figure of a person sitting crowned, and holding in each hand a sceptre surmounted by a lilly, which Dr. Hickes and other antiquaries have imagined to be designed for St. Cuthbert. The other side is filled by a large flower, and round the edge is the following legend: "AELFRED MEC HEIT GEVVRCAN;" that is, *Alfred ordered me to be made*. This piece of antiquity is now in the Museum at Oxford, accompanied with the accounts of Doctors Hickes and Musgrave, and the following memorandum:—"Nov. 16, 1718, Tho. Palmer, Esq. of Fairfield, in Somersetshire, put this ancient picture of St. Cuthbert, made by order of King Alfred, into my hands, to be conveyed to the Bodleian Library in Oxford, where his father Nat. Palmer, Esq. lately dead, desired it might be placed and preserved. Geo. Clark."

Collinson's History of Somersetshire. Vol. I. p. 87.

"Dr. Hickes, in his Thesaurus, has engraved a famous jewel of this King. It was found in the Isle of Athelney, where King Alfred, in his distresses, concealed himself so successfully, and afterwards in gratitude for that signal deliverance, erected a monastery. It is not certainly known to what use this valuable curiosity, which it seems is of exquisite workmanship, far superior to what might be expected from the rude state of arts in those times, might be put; but amongst other conjectures, Mr. Wise imagines, and very probably, it might have been the handle of a stylus.

* * * * *

"Dr. Musgrave once thought it might have been an amulet; but Alfred never ran, that we know of, into such vanities. Dr. Hickes thought it might be the head of our Saviour, or of the Pope that consecrated this King in his youth. He imagined afterwards, the King might wear it on his breast as a constant memorial of St. Cuthbert, whose head he supposes to be represented on it.—Mr. Wise objects to its being either the head of Christ, or St. Cuthbert, on account of the military habit and the helmet; and proposes it to consideration, whether it may not be the head of Alfred himself.—The weight of this jewel is about one ounce five-eighths."

Archaeologia, Vol. II. p. 72, &c.

† Malmesbury.

Among other improvements in the arts of civilization, Alfred improved the English cities and towns, by the introduction of ornamental architecture. The art of brick-making was first known in England during his reign; and he not only built his palaces, but also several churches, castles, and other edifices, of brick or stone. The superior elegance and durability of those buildings, induced the nobles to imitate their sovereign; but the common people, either from inability, or want of refinement, continued to build their houses of wood, or hurdles and clay. Various improvements in furniture, household utensils, and instruments of husbandry, were also gradually introduced; and the seat with three legs,* on which this amiable prince might have sat in the early part of his reign, was displaced for the chair of state, and the superb canopy.

In private life, this great prince was equally exemplary, amiable, and beneficent. During his seclusion in Athelney, he vowed to devote the third part of his time to the service of his Creator, as soon as he should be restored to his original dignity; and he performed this votive engagement with scrupulous punctuality.

He divided the day into three parts, allotting eight hours to devotion, eight to public business, and eight to reflection, study, and repose. Clocks and hour-glasses were then unknown in England; he therefore invented the expedient of wax-candles, marked with circular equidistant lines of different colours, which served as hour-lines. These candles were inclosed in lanterns of transparent horn, to preserve them from the action of the air; and, after a few experiments, he arrived at such precision with this apparatus, that he was enabled to ascertain the horal division of time with exactness.†

* "On such a stool immortal Alfred sat,

"And swayed the sceptre of his infant realms."———COWPER.

† He ordered a quantity of wax to be made into six candles, each twelve inches long, with the division of inches marked out distinctly. These being lighted one after another, did orderly burn four hours apiece, that is, every three inches an hour, so that the whole six candles lasted just twenty-four hours, the watching of which was committed to the keepers of his chapel, whose office it was to put him in mind how each hour passed."—Spelman.

He divided his revenue, which consisted entirely of his own hereditary estate, into two parts, one of which was appropriated to charitable uses. It was subdivided into four parts: the first was distributed in alms; the second was given for the maintenance of monasteries; the third for the subsistence of the professors and students at Oxford; and the fourth for the relief of poor monks, as well foreigners as English.

The other moiety was disbursed in three divisions: the first for the use of his family; the second in paying his architects, and ingenious artificers; and the third was bestowed in pensions to learned foreigners, whom he had invited to his court for the instruction of the English.

When we consider the general ignorance of his countrymen at that period, the attainments of Alfred must appear truly extraordinary. Endued with a perception of whatever was sublime or elegant in nature and art, he devoted his juvenile hours to study; and his diffusive beneficence afterwards imparted the knowledge thus obtained, not only to his cotemporaries, but posterity. He translated into the Saxon language Gregory's Pastoral, Boethius de Consolatione, and Bede's Ecclesiastical History. He also began a translation of the Psalms, but did not live to finish it.* So great was his zeal for the encouragement of learning, that literary attainments were requisite qualifications for any post of honour at his court, or in the government of the people. In private life, his manners were amiable, and he delighted in the conversation of men of learning and genius, whom he retained near his person. Hence his court became one of the most polite in Europe, and exhibited a respectable combination of talents and virtues, sanctioned by the patronage of a prince, who himself outshone all competitors.

After a reign of twenty-eight years and six months, this great prince died on the 28th day of October, A. D. 900, to the inexpressible regret of his people.

* Asserius.

to whom he had ever been a most liberal benefactor and affectionate father. He was buried—first in Winchester Cathedral, but the superstitious canons having raised a report that he frequently appeared to them, his body was afterwards taken up by his son and successor King Edward, and interred in the monastery of that city.

The language of panegyric fails in an attempt to describe the character of Alfred, who is justly denominated *the Great*. Even at this remote period, after a lapse of nine centuries, his virtues shine with undiminished lustre, and a degree of superior excellence that supersedes comparison. Peter, the legislator of Russia, can alone have any pretension to a competition with our illustrious law-giver. But Peter, though great as a sovereign, was inferior to Alfred in the social virtues ;* and even when we compare their public labours, the Englishman deserves pre-eminence.

* The following anecdotes, illustrative of the benignity and moral excellence of Alfred, will enable the reader more fully to appreciate the character of that extraordinary prince and philosopher.

“ In the year of our Lord's incarnation 886, in the second year of St. Grimbald's coming over into England, the University of Oxford was founded; the first regents there and readers in Divinity, were St. Neot, an abbot, and eminent professor of Theology; and St. Grimbald, an eloquent and most excellent interpreter of the holy scriptures: Grammar and Rhetorick were taught by Asserius, a monk, a man of extraordinary learning: Logick, Music, and Arithmetick, were read by John, a monk of St. David's: Geometry and Astronömy, were professed by John, a monk and colleague of St. Grimbald, one of a sharp wit and immense knowledge. These lectures were often honoured with the presence of the most illustrious and invincible monarch, King Alfred, whose memory, to every judicious taste, shall be always sweeter than honey.”—Annals of the Monastery of Winchester.

“ There arose a sharp and grievous dissension between Grimbald and those learned men whom he brought hither with him, and the old scholars whom he found here at his coming; for these absolutely refused to comply with the statutes, institutions, and forms of reading, prescribed by Grimbald. The difference proceeded to no great height for the space of three years; yet there was always a private grudge and enmity between them, which soon after broke out with the utmost violence imaginable. To appease these tumults, the most invincible King Alfred, being informed of the faction by a message and complaint from Grimbald, came to Oxford with a design to accommodate the matter, and submitted to a great deal of pains and patience, to hear the cause and complaint

Indeed the energetic and active genius of Alfred perceived, as it were, intuitively, whatever could contribute to the civilization and felicity of his countrymen.

“ He found them savage, and he left them tame.”

To his venerable name is attached the idea of whatever is extraordinary, admirable, and estimable in the human character. Alfred may justly be considered one of those honourable instruments of Divine Philanthropy with which the omniscient Deity, from time to time, enlightens and reforms mankind; thus mercifully preventing that retrogression into barbarism and brutalized ignorance, which otherwise would inevitably deface his fairest work in the visible creation. The history of all nations will prove illustrative of this important fact: all communities have been blest with their illustrious law-givers; and England may, with the exultation of conscious superiority, confront the talents and virtues of her immortal Alfred, with those of the most renowned benefactors of the human race.

“ Let laurels drench'd in pure Parnassian dews,

“ Reward his memory, dear to every muse:

“ 'Tis to the virtues of such men, man owes

“ His portion in the good that Heav'n bestows.”

of both parties. The controversy depended upon this: the old scholars maintained, that before the coming of Grimbold to Oxford, learning did here flourish, though the students were then less in number than they had formerly been, because that very many of them had been expelled by the cruel tyranny of Pagans. They further declared and proved, and that by the undoubted testimony of their ancient annals, that good orders and constitutions for the government of that place, had been already made by men of great piety and learning, such as Gildas, Melkin, Ninnius, Kentigern, and others, who had there prosecuted their studies to a good old age, all things being then managed in happy peace and quiet: and that St. German coming to Oxford, and residing there half-a-year, what time he went through all England to preach down the Pelagian heresy, did well approve of their rules and orders.

“ The King, with incredible humility and great attention, heard out both parties, exhorting them with pious and importunate entreaties, to preserve love and amity with one another. Upon this he left them, in hopes that both parties would follow his advice, and obey his instructions. But Grimbold resenting these proceedings, retired immediately to the monastery at Winchester, which King Alfred had lately founded; and soon after, he got his tomb to be removed thither to him, in which he had designed his bones should be put after his decease, and laid in a vault under the chancel of the church of St. Peter, in Oxford; which church the said Grimbold had raised from the ground, of stones hewn and carved with great art and beauty.”—Asserius.

England, during the latter part of the reign of her great legislator, had made a rapid progress in those arts which promote civilization. Her coast, protected by a powerful fleet; her merchants secured in the possession of their property; and her people in general governed by magistrates whose indispensable qualification for the appointment was integrity, presented a scene of human felicity never before beheld in this country. During this tranquil period, population multiplied in England; a traffick with the maritime nations of the Continent contributed to the diffusion of general knowledge; a taste for learning, and the liberal arts, was cultivated by the nobility and clergy; and the native produce of the soil was exchanged for the elegancies of Flanders, France, Italy, and Spain.

Soon after the accession of Edward, however, the Danish settlers who occupied nearly one half of England, made an insurrection in favour of Ethelward, the son of Ethelbert, who claimed the crown; while the English, in consequence of their veneration for Alfred, continued firm in their attachment to his son. Edward, who obtained repeated victories over the Danes, compelled them to submission; and, after a glorious reign of twenty-four years, died, and was succeeded by his son Athelstan, in the early part of whose reign England was harrassed by intestine commotions, and foreign invasion.

Athelstan, who had been knighted by his grandfather Alfred, and who inherited the valour of his predecessor, was victorious over all his enemies. He died in the year 941, after a reign of sixteen years. This prince left the kingdom in a state of profound tranquillity, and is recorded by the monks for his piety, learning, and munificence. During his reign, the bible was translated into Saxon, the language then generally spoken throughout England; and this great work, which was accurately performed by Englishmen, yet remains, a memorial of the successful establishments of Alfred, for the encouragement of learning.

Edmund, the brother and successor of Athelstan, during a short and troublesome, but glorious reign, repressed the Danes who were in possession of

Northumberland, and part of Mercia. An army of Danes and Norwegians, stimulated by reports of the beauty and fertility of England, invaded Northumberland, where they were joined by Danish insurgents. But after several conflicts, Edmund not only conquered those invaders, but compelled the two Danish princes, Anlaff and Reginald, to abandon the island. Having thus restored peace to his country, Edmund endeavoured to promote the security of his people, by enacting a law for the punishment of robbers. According to that law, the oldest delinquent in gangs of robbers was condemned to the gallows; but the audacity of those depredators led to an incident that was fatal to the king.

In the year 948, as Edmund was solemnizing a public festival, in honour of St. Augustin, at Puckle-Church, in Gloucestershire, he observed Leolf, a notorious robber, who had been banished for his crimes. This outlaw had the audacity to come and sit at one of the tables in the hall, where the king was at dinner, who, exasperated at his presumption, ordered him to be apprehended. Perceiving that Leolf drew his dagger to defend himself, Edmund leaped up, and seizing him by the hair, dragged him out of the hall; but before the attendants could interfere, the robber stabbed him in the breast with his dagger, and the nation was deprived of this excellent prince, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and eighth of his reign.

His successor, Edred, was only remarkable for his munificence to the monks. From the middle to the end of the tenth century, England was governed by six native kings, the most remarkable of whom was Edgar. This wise sovereign, by the augmentation of his navy and army, overawed the Danes who lived in his dominions, and deterred those of the Continent from invasion. According to one author,* he fitted out four thousand ships. Another writer† asserts, that the number of his shipping amounted to four thousand eight hundred; but their

* Malmesbury.

† Matthew of Westminster.

statements were probably exaggerated. This formidable fleet, which cruised around the island, prevented the descent of Danish pirates.

The foreign commerce of England at this time* must have been considerable, and naval architecture much encouraged; for it would have been impossible for King Edgar to have built and manned his fleet, if the English merchants had not supplied him with shipwrights and mariners. It is probable, indeed, that he hired some of the sailors of Flanders and France, and also employed fishermen on board his navy; but the majority of seamen were undoubtedly his own countrymen.

London and Bristol were the principal sea-ports of England at this period; and the importation of foreign merchandise introduced a degree of opulence and refinement into those cities, unknown in the other towns of the kingdom. The situation of Bristol, and its communication with several navigable rivers, facilitated its inland trade with Wessex, Wales, and Mercia; and it is not improbable that many continental articles of commerce were then exported from this port to Ireland.

After the demise of Edgar, England was ruled by his two sons in succession; but during the reign of Ethelred, the kingdom was overrun by the Danes. In 1016, Edmund, the successor of Ethelred, and Canute, King of Denmark, consented to an amicable partition of the English territories: during the following year, the Anglo-Saxon prince was assassinated, and the Dane was immediately proclaimed Monarch of England. He reigned nineteen years, and died A. D. 1036.

After an uninterrupted succession of three Danish kings, namely, Canute, Harold I. and Hardicanute, the latter having left no issue, the crown devolved to Edward III. the son of Ethelred II.

* A. D. 960.

During the reign of that prince, the Danes entirely lost their influence in England; nay, it is recorded by the Danish historians, that all their countrymen in this kingdom were assassinated in one night. The English historians are silent on this subject; but the sudden diminution, or rather cessation of Danish power in this country, in the year 1042, is an incontrovertible fact, which amounts to a proof that the Danes must either have been massacred or expelled.

The restoration of the Saxon line to the throne, was doubtless a subject of triumph to every patriotic Englishman. Edward died in the year 1066, after a reign of twenty-five years, and was succeeded by Harold, whose succession was disputed by William Duke of Normandy. That prince, under the pretext that the crown of England was bequeathed to him by Edward, prepared to enforce his claim by an appeal to arms. Harold, who had made the requisite preparations to repel the expected invader, waited some months for the Duke of Normandy's arrival; but on receiving intelligence that he had postponed his embarkation to the spring, he rashly unrigged his fleet, and disbanded his army.

Another invader, however, soon afterwards made a descent on the coast of England. Harfager, King of Norway, accompanied by Earl Toston, brother of Harold, entered the Tyne, with a fleet of five hundred sail, and ravaged the country on both sides of that river. Harold hastily collected his army, marched against the Norwegians, and engaged them at Stanford-bridge, on the Derwent, near York, where, after a battle of eight hours, the invaders were defeated, and Harfager and Toston both slain. The discomfiture of the Norwegians was so complete, that out of an army of sixty thousand men that came over in five hundred ships, the remains were reembarked, with the permission of the victorious Harold, on board of twenty vessels.

While King Harold was thus successfully engaged in the north, in the expulsion of his enemies, the Duke of Normandy set sail with a fair wind from St. Valery, and landed at Pevensey, in Sussex, in the month of September, 1066. William marched immediately to Hastings, where he erected a fort, and published a manifesto, declarative of his reasons for invading England.

This unjustifiable invasion excited the strongest emotions in the minds of the English nobility, who prepared with alacrity to arm their dependants, and march against the common enemy. One general sentiment of heroic ardour seemed to animate every bosom; and couriers were dispatched with the news of the Norman invasion to King Harold, who was at the head of his victorious army in the north of England.

Harold immediately proceeded by forced marches to London, where he was joined by the nobility, and advanced without delay to meet the Normans. On the 14th of October, at daybreak, the two armies came to a general engagement, in which Harold displayed his characteristic heroism in the fairest light. He fought on foot in the centre of the van, which consisted of Kentish men, who had long been in possession of that post of honour. At the head of these brave troops, Harold boldly exposed himself to the greatest danger, animating his men by his voice and example.

The Norman army, drawn up in three grand divisions, commenced the attack with a volley of arrows, which annoyed the close ranks of the English, who, unaccustomed to this method of warfare, were thrown into momentary confusion. Encouraged by the apparent disorder of their opponents, the Normans pressed forward sword in hand; but the English, who were rallied by Harold and his officers, met them with such bravery, that they were soon compelled to retreat with breathless precipitation. On a renewal of the conflict,

they were unable to penetrate the firm phalanxes of the English, who stood their ground with invincible resolution.

During this ardent and momentous contest, the soldiers of both armies fought hand to hand, and a scene of carnage ensued in which the front ranks, thinned by the sword, were continually reinforced by fresh troops from the rear. Animated by the heroism of their officers, both Englishmen and Normans evinced the most undaunted courage, and fought with a determination to conquer or die, insomuch that the victory was at length obtained only by stratagem.

The Duke of Normandy, who was an experienced warrior, perceiving that it was impossible to break the ranks of the English, issued orders to his officers that the troops should feign a retreat, and at the same time keep their ranks unbroken. On the retreat of the Normans, they were fiercely pursued by the English, who encouraged each other by reiterated shouts of triumph to press the retiring enemy. But in the ardour of pursuit, their ranks were broken, and the Normans, on a preconcerted signal, again formed, attacked the English army then in disarray, and compelled them to retreat, with dreadful slaughter.

Harold made incredible exertions to rally his troops, and succeeded in drawing up a considerable body of infantry upon an eminence, near the field of battle. It was now the close of an eventful day, and the contest was yet undecided. The English, confiding in the wisdom and valour of their king, resolved to maintain their position, and renew the battle on the following morning ; but the Duke of Normandy, eager to complete his victory, attacked them with impetuosity, but was repelled with great loss. He resolved, however, to make another effort, and in this attack Harold was slain by an arrow, which penetrated his head. With the fall of their king, the English lost their resolution, and retreated, exposed to the relentless rage of a victorious enemy. A considerable part of the English army, however, retired from the

field, under the conduct of Morcar and Edwin, two noblemen of distinguished bravery.

Thus fell the last of the Saxon kings, on the bed of honour, like a true patriot, with his sword in his hand, in defence of his country's cause. Posterity has not done justice to the civic virtue of this brave but unfortunate prince, whose memory ought to be dear to every patriot.

“ And when recording history displays
 “ Feats of renown, though wrought in ancient days,
 “ Tells of a few stout hearts, that fought and died,
 “ Where duty placed them, at their country's side ;
 “ The man that is not mov'd with what he reads,
 “ That takes not fire at their heroic deeds,
 “ Unworthy of the blessings of the brave,
 “ Is base in kind, and born to be a slave.”

After the battle of Hastings, in which Harold, and the flower of the English nobility and army were slain, the victor proceeded with great precaution in securing his conquest. He first besieged Dover, which in a few days opened its gates ; and he afterwards marched to the vicinity of London, and encamped in Southwark. Morcar, Earl of Chester, and his brother Edwin, Earl of Northumberland, who had survived the conflict, and were at the head of the army in London, warmly exhorted the citizens to place Edgar Atheling on the throne. This proposal met the general approbation of the people ; but the clergy, with the Archbishops of London and York at their head, strenuously opposed it, from motives of avarice and pusillanimity. The enterprize of the Norman adventurer had originally received the sanction of the pontiff himself, and consequently that warrior was considered as under the immediate protection of the church ; the clergy, therefore, exerted their influence among the citizens, in favour of a victorious foreign invader, from whose munificence they had reason to expect lasting benefit, The patriotic party were consequently obliged

to submit, and William entered London in triumph, where he was soon afterwards crowned, and proclaimed King of England.

By the moderation and prudence of his conduct to his new subjects, he soon obtained their universal submission; and his impartial administration of justice, for some months after his coronation, induced the English to consider him as a great and virtuous sovereign, in consequence of which they ceased to lament the revolution as a national calamity.

But the conqueror gradually developed his real character, which was a hideous compound of avarice, injustice, and pride. He now treated his English subjects with rigour; and having quelled an insurrection which happened the second year of his reign, and compelled several of the native nobility to seek refuge in Scotland, he disarmed the people, to prevent another revolt. He also resorted to the arbitrary measure of compelling the English to extinguish their lights at eight o'clock every evening, when a bell, called the Curfew,* was rung as a signal.

But his oppressions did not terminate here, for in the year 1070, he seized upon all the baronies and fiefs of the crown, and distributed them among his Norman followers. Hence the ancient English nobility were deprived of their heritage, and reduced to a state of extreme indigence and misery; while the common people languished in abject and hopeless vassalage. Such were the calamities which followed submission to a foreign usurper, whom the nation might, by a bold effort, have precipitated from that throne of which he was unworthy.

“ King William the Conqueror reserved in his own hands, or in those of his farmers or tenants at will, or for short terms of years, a great part of

* *Couvre feu*, or cover fire.

the lands of England ; the same, as it is said, that were in the hands of his predecessor, Edward the Confessor, for the support of his royal dignity, and the ordinary expences of government. The rest of the lands of England he granted away to his Norman and French companions, in very large quantities, dispossessing for the most part the former English possessors of them. This he did not, indeed, do at first, because he claimed the crown of England by a legal, or pretendedly legal, title ; namely, the appointment of Edward the Confessor, ratified by the consent of the principal great men of England ; and consequently he would not, consistently with this pretence, and in fact he did not, make use of his victory over Harold, as a victory over the whole English nation, that authorized him to treat them as a conquered people : but he confiscated, and granted away to his Normans, only the estates of such of the English as had assisted Harold, and whom he considered in the light of rebels ; leaving the rest of the English in quiet possession of their lands, upon their swearing allegiance to him. Those, however, who had adhered to Harold, and whose estates were confiscated upon that ground, were very many ; and by that means the Normans became immediately possessed of very great estates in England. Afterwards the English made several insurrections against King William, in different years of his reign ; and he came to have so strong a suspicion of their fidelity to his government, that he took occasion, from those insurrections, to dispossess them almost all of their lands, and give them to his Normans ; insomuch, that towards the latter end of his reign, there were extremely few English in the nation, that held lands under him, or at least that held any land immediately of him, which was the most powerful and most honourable kind of tenure. He even went further, as the cotemporary historians, and particularly Ingulphus assures us ; and would not suffer any Englishman whatsoever, though his merit and character were ever so great, to rise to any considerable employment, in church or state.

“ The lands which he thus granted away to his Norman companions, and which he permitted perhaps some few of the English to continue in the

possession of, he brought under the feudal law; that is, under the form of it which then prevailed in Normandy, the principal articles of which were these:—The landholders held their lands of the king by homage and fealty, and certain military services, that is, by doing homage to the king, and thereby declaring, that they became his *homines*, or men to assist him and serve him in all things relating to his worldly honour and glory; and by swearing fealty or fidelity to him, and by putting themselves under an obligation of attending and assisting him with a certain number of knights, or horsemen, armed with complete armour capapee, for a certain number of days, in all his wars: and they held these lands for them and their heirs for ever, that is probably to their children and descendants, but not as yet to their collateral relations. Upon failure of heirs, the lands were to fall back (*écori*) to the king, which was called *escheating*; as they were likewise upon the commission of treason against the king, and of murder or wilful homicide, and certain other atrocious crimes, called felonies.”*

Several centuries have passed away since Englishmen were reduced to such degradation; and with the public spirit, and resources which the inhabitants of this country now possess, the ambitious projects of any foreign despot against their chartered rights, and all the social blessings which they enjoy, would doubtless be repelled with patriotic valour.

“ Act but an honest and a faithful part;
 “ Compare what then thou wast, with what thou art;
 “ And God’s disposing providence confess’d,
 “ Obduracy itself will yield the rest.—
 “ Then thou art bound to serve Him, and to prove
 “ Hour after hour thy gratitude and love.

“ Has he not hid thee, and thy favour’d land,
 “ For ages safe beneath his shelt’ring hand,

* Archæologia, Vol. II. p. 301, &c.

" Giv'n thee his blessing on the clearest proof,
 " Bid nations leagued against thee stand aloof,
 " And charg'd Hostility and Hate to roar
 " Where else they would, but not upon thy shore?
 " Peculiar is the grace by thee possess'd,
 " Thy foes implacable, thy land at rest;
 " Thy thunders travel over earth and seas,
 " And all at home is pleasure, wealth, and ease.
 " Freedom in other lands scarce known to shine,
 " Pours out a flood of splendour upon thine;
 " Thou hast as bright an int'rest in her rays,
 " As ever Roman had in Rome's best days."

But the most iniquitous act of oppression perpetrated by the conqueror in England, was the depopulation of a district in Hampshire, above thirty miles in circumference, containing thirty-six parish churches, and one hundred hamlets or villages. This desolated space he planted with trees, and named it the New Forest: it was appropriated as a range for beasts of chase, and in it the Norman Nimrod amused himself with his favourite diversion of hunting.

This tyrant also endeavoured, but in vain, to abolish the English language, and for that purpose he established public schools in all the cities and boroughs of England, where the Norman, consisting of a barbarous jargon of intermingled French and Danish phrases was taught. All public acts were also written in the Norman language.

After a turbulent reign of forty-two years in Normandy, and twenty-one in England, William died at Hermentrude,* on the 9th of September, 1087, in the sixty-first year of his age. This conqueror was remarkable for courage and unshaken fortitude, qualities which have, in all ages, been high in the estimation of mankind; but the perverse misapplication of which, in the

* A village on the banks of the Seine, opposite Roan.

gratification of ambition, or self-aggrandizement, has been a fruitful source of human calamity.

“ Let eternal infamy pursue
 “ The wretch to nought but his ambition true ;
 “ Who for the sake of filling with one blast
 “ The post-horns of all Europe——lays her waste.”

A retrospection of British history, from the invasion of the Normans in the eleventh century, to that of the Romans in the first, presents an afflictive scene of commotion, war, and devastation. Sometimes a momentary ray of intellectual excellence irradiates the dreary retrospect ; and like “ a sunbeam in a winter's day,” the virtues of a Caractacus, an Arthur, an Ina, and an Alfred, reconcile us to those dark ages, when the slow progress of our ancestors was the consequence, not of their own indocility, but the rapacity and ferocity of invaders. The unsettled state of society in England, during the contest of the natives and Danes, was unfavourable to civilization ; and the revolution effected with such quickness and facility by William I. introduced an almost total change of polity and manners.

By conferring the confiscated estates of the English nobility, upon his Norman followers, William established a general feudal system in England ; and the Norman barons who held their new possessions on the tenure of devoting their future services to their sovereign, were ready to march at the head of their vassals to his aid in warfare.

But exclusive of this obligation, the barons were, in a great degree, independent of their prince. When established in their new possessions, they considered themselves surrounded by enemies, and for their greater security, built castles, at once to overawe their English vassals, and protect themselves from the danger of assassination. Those fortresses, which were of much greater extent and strength than any constructed in England in the time of the Saxons, were

multiplied for some ages after the Norman conquest, in such numbers, that in the turbulent reign of King Stephen, when the kingdom was convulsed with civil war, no less than eleven hundred and fifteen castles were completely built in the space of nineteen years.*

The castles built by the Norman barons in England, during the reign of their countryman and benefactor, William I. were more remarkable for strength than magnificence; being hastily constructed of such rude materials as were to be found in the vicinity. Those gloomy towers, with their lofty battlements rising above the foliage of the circumjacent trees, formed a bold and picturesque object in the English landscape; which at once reminded the natives of their degradation, and the impossibility of emancipating their country, while such formidable castles were occupied by their oppressors. In those castles the barons resided amid their extensive domains, in all the pomp of isolated state, despising their vassals, and exercising uncontrolled authority.

From the time of the Norman conquest to the commencement of the thirteenth century, military architecture was cultivated and improved in this country, according to the most perfect models of fortification then known. As the feudal monarchy of William I. had been established by the sword, he was convinced that it could only be secured by military superiority. He therefore fortified several towns, and also built the castles of Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge, and the tower of London.

The situation of a castle was generally on an eminence, in the vicinity of a brook or river. The form varied according to the plan of the projector, and the extent of the edifice; it was fortified with a strong external wall, twelve feet high, flanked with towers, and surrounded with a deep moat, generally filled with water. A drawbridge, communicating with the entrance, was raised

* Grose's Antiquities.

on the inner bank of the fosse, to be let down when requisite; and beside the bridge, the barbican, or watch-tower, was erected.

But the principal and strongest part of the fortification, was the keep, a high square tower, divided into five floors. The subterranean floor was the dungeon; the ground floor was a reconditory for provisions, fuel, and arms; the second story was a barrack for the garrison; the third consisted of state-rooms for the baron and his family; and the fourth, or attic story, surmounted by turrets, was divided into bed-chambers. The windows were small in proportion to the size of the rooms. The walls of the keep were twelve feet thick, and the entrance of the portal was at the second story. This portal was approached by a stone staircase on the outside; and about halfway it was fortified by a strong gate, and the entrance was further secured by a drawbridge. Beyond the first entrance, another strong gate secured a small tower, which formed the vestibule of the keep, or citadel, and this portal was defended by a portcullis, formed of strong pieces of timber, with horizontal and perpendicular spikes of iron. This engine was fixed in grooves of stone, and was worked by a windlass; it was so ponderous, that in its sudden descent it was not only destructive to those assailants who attempted to force the entrance, but presented an almost insuperable obstacle to the further progress of the besieger. It was necessary to pass through this entrance, and the small tower, to the portal of the citadel; which was also fortified with strong gates, and a portcullis. A fortification constructed with such art must have been impregnable, before the invention of gun-powder; indeed, nothing less than famine or disease could reduce a determined garrison, in such a fortress, to the necessity of a capitulation.

Among those fortresses remarkable for extent and magnificence in feudal times, the castle of Bristol, rebuilt in the reign of Henry I. by his illegitimate son, Robert Earl of Gloucester, is one of the most remarkable recorded in English history. A variety of important and affecting events, equally interesting to the politician, the antiquarian, and the philosopher, have been transacted within its

boundaries. Its history affords a surprising and almost incredible variety of incidents, descriptive of human manners in the days of yore, and strongly illustrative of the perishable, fleeting, and evanescent glory of the world.

Within its precincts the splendid palace, and the gloomy dungeon, have realized the extremes of human happiness, and human misery. The laugh of festivity, and the shriek of assassinated innocence, have been re-echoed by its walls. The standards of royalty, and the banners of rebellion, have alternately waved in proud defiance, on its highest towers. War has displayed a host of assailants, scaling its strong battlements, and engaged in mortal conflict with its garrison, while the worst passions of man overspread its spacious courts with carnage and devastation.

How various and interesting have been the scenes of human life, exhibited in the castle of Bristol! Here the dauntless warrior has appeared, bracing on his armour to meet the foe, while his eyes beamed with the anticipation of victory; and hither the captive has been dragged to confinement, covered with wounds, yet indignantly silent, and suffering the most excruciating anguish with invincible fortitude. In the remote and darksome cells of its dungeon, the grim assassin has presented himself muffled, and hastening on tip-toe, dagger in hand, to sacrifice some victim to the vengeance or ambition of his employer. In the seclusion of hopeless solitude, in its remote apartments, have appeared the pale visage and tearful eyes of beauty languishing in captivity, from which only death could liberate the prisoner. Kings conquered in the field have been led in chains into Bristol castle, exposed to the taunts of haughty and triumphant malevolence; and have afterwards issued from its portals, to reassume the ensigns of royalty.

From a singular peculiarity of circumstances, it appears that a castle originally built for the protection of Bristol, was, in many instances, rendered detrimental to the security and prosperity of a city, to which, from its contiguity, it ought to have been a defence.

When Robert Duke of Normandy, brother to William I. concerted measures with his English partisans, for the dethronement of the king, the Bishop of Constance, with his nephew Mowbray Earl of Northumberland, summoned their vassals in Bath, Berkley, and Bristol, to join their standard. The bishop took possession of the castle of Bristol, which, though small, was well fortified; but the indolence of the Duke of Normandy defeated the plans of his friends, and rendered the conspiracy unsuccessful. He ceded his right to the crown of England to his brother William, for a yearly pension of three thousand marks, on condition that he should inherit the crown as successor. The Bishop of Constance, and his partisans, were therefore obliged to evacuate the castle of Bristol, and it was conferred by the king, in the year 1089, with the honour* and earldom of Gloucester, on Robert Fitzhamon, a valiant and faithful subject, whose activity and zeal had been instrumental to the failure of the plot in favour of the Duke of Normandy.

There is nothing important on record, respecting the castle, during the time it was in the possession of the first Earl of Gloucester, who does not appear to have made it his residence. He died in 1107, and the castle, with his hereditary possessions, devolved to his eldest daughter Matilda, who was married in the year 1009 to Robert, illegitimate son of Henry I.

It appears from the account given by Robert of Gloucester, in the following lines, that the king was suitor for his son, on which occasion the lady, conscious of the importance attached to her wealth and rank, insisted that a higher title of nobility should be conferred on her lover, prior to the marriage.

“ He sede heo ssolde hys sone to hyre spouse anonge,

“ This mayde was ther agen and with syde yt longe,

*The honour of Gloucester contained three hundred and twenty-seven knights fees, and some fractions; that is, upwards of two hundred and twenty-two thousand three hundred and sixty acres.—Archæologia, vol. 2, p. 335.

" The king of soght hyre suite ynon that atenende,
 " Mabile him answerede as gode mayde and hende,
 " Sire hoe syde wel y cot that youre herte up me ys,
 " More vor myne eritage than vor my sulue ywis,
 " So vair eritage as ych abbe, yt were me gret same,
 " Vor to abbe an Loverd, bote he adde an tu name,
 " Sr. Roberd le Fyts Haim mi fader was,
 " And that ne myghte nogt be hys that of his kunne nogt nas,
 " Therefore Syre vor Godes love, ne let me non mon owe,
 " Bote he abbe an two name warthorou he be y knowe,
 " Damoysele, quoth the king, thou seyest wel in thys cas ;
 " Sr. Roberd le Fitz Haim thy fader's name was,
 " An as fair, name he ssal abbe gyf me hym may byse,
 " Syre Roberd le Fytz Roy ys name ssal be ywis,
 " Syre quoth this mayde tho that ys a vayr name,
 " As wo seyth all hys lyf and of gæte fame,
 " Ac wat ssolde hys sone hote thanne, and other that of hym come ;
 " So ne mygte hij hote noght thereof nymeth gome.
 " The king understood that the mayde ne scyde non outrage,
 " And that Glocester was chief of hyre eritage,
 " Damasile, he seyde tho' thy Loverd ssal abbe an name,
 " Vor him and vor hys eyrs, vayr without blame,
 " Vor Roberd Erl of Glocestre hys name ssal be and ys,
 " Voi he ssal be Erl of Glocestre & ys eyrs ywys.
 " Sire quoth the mayde tho wel lyketh me thys,
 " In this fourme ychole that al my things be hys,
 " Thus was Erl of Glocestre vorst ymade there,
 " Ac this Roberd of alle thulke that lange byvore were
 " Thys was enlene Hundredger and in the ger ryght
 " After that our Lorde was in his moder alyght."*

When Robert Earl of Glocester was put in possession of the castle, he was only twenty years old ; and he was one of the most remarkable characters of that age, for superiority of abilities, and a taste for literature. He is thus

* Robert of Glocester's Chronicle, published in 1724, by Thomas Hearne, the Oxford Antiquary.

characterised by a noble historian :—" The Earl of Gloucester had no inconsiderable tincture of learning, and was the patron of all who excelled in it ; qualities rare at all times, in noblemen of his high rank, but particularly in an age when knowledge and valour were thought incompatible ; and not to be able to read was a mark of nobility. This truly great man broke through that cloud of barbarous ignorance, and after the example of his father, Henry I. enlarged his understanding, and humanized his mind, by a commerce with the muses, which he assiduously cultivated, even in courts and camps."*

With these rare endowments and accomplishments, the Earl of Gloucester began his public career. Soon after his marriage he made Bristol his place of residence, rebuilt the castle on a more extensive scale, and fortified it with a strong outer wall, defended with towers, and surrounded by a deep moat, over which there was a passage to the city by a drawbridge. In the extensive square enclosed by this fortification, he erected a magnificent tower or palace of white stone, imported for the purpose from Caen, in Normandy.†

But instead of the usual divisions of the keep or principal tower of ancient castles, the entrance to the palace of the Earl of Gloucester was by a stately arched vestibule, which led to a great hall, where the proprietor entertained his friends and partisans with the dignified hospitality of that age. A suite of superb apartments, furnished for the accommodation of royalty, displayed the taste and opulence of the proprietor ; the garrison was lodged on the ground floor, in spacious rooms, contiguous to the great hall ; and the upper chambers were partly appropriated to the purposes of study or repose, and partly occupied by the ladies, and their female attendants.

In this stately and magnificent pile, the Earl of Gloucester gave laws to his dependants in the vicinity of Bristol, for some time ; and it continued to be his

* Lord Lyttelton's History of the reign of Henry II, vol. 2. p. 58.

† Leland.

favourite residence while he was permitted to enjoy the uninterrupted pleasures of domestic retirement, and the elegant pursuits of literature. His serenity too soon suffered interruption; a civil war between the Empress Maud and King Stephen involved the whole nation in one common calamity; and the Earl of Gloucester, who was the avowed adherent of the fair competitor, was obliged to relinquish the delights of his pleasant castle, for the turbulence and danger of the camp.

During the earl's absence, a violent and lawless body of his partisans, from time to time, made the castle their rendezvous; and being in general men of desperate circumstances, they committed intolerable outrages against the peaceable inhabitants of Bristol. These depredators are thus described by a cotemporary writer. "On one part of the city where it is more exposed, a large castle rises, with high ramparts, a wall, bulwarks and towers, and other contrivances, to prevent the approach of besiegers. In this fortress a multitude of vassals, both horse and foot, are collected, which are terrible, nay, horrible to the beholder. These freebooters, protected by a rich lord, and a very strong castle, ravage this fertile country with impunity.*

* M. S. in the collection of Bishop Laud.



CHAPTER THE THIRD.

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CHAPTER THE THIRD.



BRISTOL is situated on an eminence gradually rising from the banks of the Frome and the Avon, two rivers by which the city is nearly surrounded. This city is partly in Gloucestershire and partly in Somersetshire. It was formerly described as part of the county of Somerset: but in the reign of Edward the Third, it was made a distinct county, dignified with peculiar privileges, and governed by its own municipality.

This ancient city was first fortified by the Romans, and afterwards rebuilt by Alfred the Great, on the original scite; but he improved the fortifications, which he extended on the eastern part, and strengthened with a castle. Bristol then consisted of four principal streets, with four gates,* besides six smaller gates in different parts of the fortification, including that of the castle.

Bristol must have made a considerable progress in population and opulence, prior to the conquest; for in Domesday Book it is rated higher than any town

* According to a plan of the city, taken in 1470, it had four principal gates, with a church or chapel at each; and the high cross in the centre of the city was surrounded by four churches.

in England, except London, York, and Winchester. “ Bertune and Bristow paid to the king 110 marks of silver, and the burgesses returned that Bishop G. had 33 marks, and one mark of gold.”* The chief magistrate of the city was then called prepositor ; and it is probable that the governor of Bristol was denominated mayor many ages prior to its being made a corporation ; for we are informed that “ Harding, who in the year 1066 was made governor of Bristow, removed the calenderies to the church of All Hallows, which before was at Christ Church. The schools founded by these calenderies for the conversion of Jews in Bristow, were put into the order of the calenderies and the mayor.”†

When the Norman invader triumphed over the patriotic English, he parcelled out their possessions among his needy followers. Among other adventurers, Harding, son to the King of Denmark, had distinguished himself, by his superior valour, at the battle of Hastings, and was rewarded for his services by ample possessions in the counties of Gloucester and Somerset. He was also appointed governor of Bristol, and this circumstance is a proof that the city was then esteemed a place of considerable importance.

Harding is the first governor of Bristol recorded in history;‡ for the vague account given by Mr. Barrett, of the Saxon governors who presided here, during the reigns of Alfred and Edward, is unauthorized by any other historian. It appears that Mr. Barrett obtained his information on this subject from an ancient manuscript, said to have been written by Turgotus, an imaginary historian of the twelfth century ; but such authorities are unworthy of serious consideration.

In common with other English sea-ports, Bristol undoubtedly advanced in prosperity, immediately after the conquest ; for a general communication was then

* Domesday Book, p. 75. It is conjectured that Bishop G. was Geoffrey Bishop of Constance.

† Leland, p. 88.

‡ Collinson's History and Antiquities of Somersetshire, p. 275,

opened with the continental nations, and the merchants of this city were consequently enabled to extend their commercial connections. Harding, during his residence in Bristol, contributed to its advancement. He married an English lady, named Lyveda, by whom he had five sons and three daughters, and died in the year 1115, after having governed the city with wisdom and equity during forty-eight years. He was succeeded by his- eldest son, Robert Fitzharding, a nobleman who left a lasting memorial of his piety and munificence, by founding the abbey of St. Augustine, in this city.

The exact epoch when Bristol was first governed by municipal laws, is unrecorded ; but there remains a curious document in the little red book deposited in the archives of St. George's Chapel, which is a satisfactory proof of the existence of a mayor in this city, prior to the year 1100. The memorandum is in old French, of which the following is a translation.

“ Memorandum, that on Monday before the feast of All Saints, in the first year of the reign of King Henry the First, after the conquest, the harness of the black scabbard of the sword of the Mayor of Bristow, was weighed in the Guildhall of Bristow, before Thomas Norton, mayor, and Walter Milton the elder, one of the bailiffs, and it weighed twenty-eight ounces and a quarter.”* Hence the first municipal officers of Bristol were, in all probability, nominated, when this city was governed by Harding ; and this record is an honourable memorial, not only of its antiquity, but its early importance and considerable population.

It has been customary with topographers to lavish panegyric on the object of their description ; but Bristol requires no adventitious embellishment to recommend

* Memorandum, que le Lundy presch. denant le fest de towts Seincts, 1 an du reigne le Roy Henri le prim. pûys le Conquest prim. le parneys de la scauberthe de le noir espe del ' Maior feust poisir en le Guildhal de Bristruyt, denant Thom. Norton Maire, et Walter Milton leisme a' dongs vu de les Bailifes, et poisa 28½ vnc.

it to our attention; and instead of exploring the gloomy recesses of antiquity, in quest of curiosities not worth the pains of research, or of wasting time in vague and unprofitable conjectures, respecting transactions and manners which have long since passed away, we shall adhere to facts of unquestionable authority, descriptive of the former state of this ancient city, and the gradual advancement to its present dignity and importance, both commercial and political.

The form of ancient Bristol was nearly oval, its boundaries being two confluent rivers, which environed it with a natural defence, except at the eastern quarter. Its situation was airy and pleasant, in the vicinity of the Avon and Frome, to which a subterraneous communication by sewers contributed to the cleanliness of the place, and the health of the inhabitants. The fertile circumjacent country supplied it with the necessities of life in abundance, while its facility of communication with the sea, and its importance as a frontier town, rendered it an object of political importance.

When Bristol was rebuilt and fortified by Alfred, the wall with which he surrounded it extended along the banks of the two rivers, the channels of which being deepened where requisite, formed an impassable moat, except at one entrance, where a strong castle was built, and surrounded with a deep trench filled with water, to complete the fortification.

The channel of the river Frome formed the principal part of the moat; it passed close to the northern part of the wall, continued its course to St. Nicholas port, where it supplied a mill with water, and afterwards disembogued itself into the Avon. This ancient course of the Frome is proved by several records. Nicholas-street being one of the boundaries of the ancient city, part of the wall is yet discernable in several places. The remains of the old wall, with its battlements, are also perceptible in Leonard's-lane, near St. Giles's Gate, from whence it was continued along Bell-lane to St. John's Gate, and joined the

Tower-wall in Tower-lane. From the Tower the ancient line of fortification extended into Wynch or Wine-street; and at Defence-lane joined the wall which extended from St. Nicholas Gate along the bank of the Avon.

Defence-lane is mentioned in old deeds. It formed a barrier between the castle and the city, to protect the citizens from the assaults of the garrison of that fortress, which was governed by a separate jurisdiction, and consequently not amenable to the municipal laws. This inner wall is said to have been built by the Bishop of Constance, when he reared his standard at Bristol, in favour of Robert Duke of Normandy, brother to William Rufus. The outer wall on this side was built on the bank of the Frome, extending from Frome Gate to Pithay Gate and Newgate, where it joined the outer wall of the castle. From its elevated situation, and its natural and artificial fortifications, this city must have been a place of great strength; and we are informed by a noble historian, that "The Earl of Gloucester so fortified the city of Bristol, as to make it impregnable."*

But this city, happily for the inhabitants, derives its celebrity and splendour from the successful speculations of enterprising merchants, and the cultivation of the useful arts, which adorn civilized society, instead of the false glory attached to military operations. Many interesting events, of a political nature, have indeed occurred within its boundaries; but in every instance, the citizens were injured by the competitors for martial superiority.

Several writers have expatiated on the early commerce of Bristol, particularly De Chesne, who describes it as a place of great traffick in the reign of King Stephen. "Bristol is one of the richest cities of England, receiving merchandise from neighbouring and foreign places, with ships under sail. It is situated in a very fertile part of the kingdom, and one of her most defensible cities; for as we read of Brundusium, a part of the county of Gloucester is here formed

* Lord Lyttelton's History of the Life of King Henry II. vol. 1. p. 312.

in a peninsula by two rivers, which extend on each side, and by their confluence almost environ the city. A strong and rapid tide flows up both these rivers, which ebb into ~~the~~ broad and deep sea, where there is a safe and commodious haven for a thousand ships. The city is so closely environed by the tide, that it seems to swim in the waters, as it appears along the banks of the rivers." Lord Lyttelton, on the authority of William of Malmesbury, says, that in the reign of Henry II. "Bristol was full of ships from Ireland, Norway, and every part of Europe, which brought hither great commerce, and much foreign wealth." Had Malmesbury particularized some of the principal commodities imported, as well as those exported at this period, he would have communicated interesting information, respecting the trade of Bristol; but the general assertions of our ancient writers are mostly hyperbolical, as well as unsatisfactory. In the infancy of British commerce, the ships so pompously mentioned by this historian were probably not larger than our present coasters. What commodities could Ireland or Norway then supply? Naval stores were probably imported from the north of Europe; but the manufactures of Ireland, as well as England, were then but few. The mariners' compass was unknown; a voyage to a remote region must consequently have been extremely hazardous, and an intercourse with distant nations almost impracticable. But whatever commerce England then enjoyed was amply shared by the port of Bristol; hence it must have been a place of considerable opulence in the twelfth century.

The election of Henry the First to the throne of England, in the year 1100, having interrupted the regular succession, that prince endeavoured to establish his popularity by the correction of abuses, and the reformation of manners. During the reign of William Rufus, the English courtiers had assumed illegal authority over the people, whom they treated with intolerable insolence. This petty tyranny was still further aggravated by the infamous sensuality of several young noblemen, who publicly boasted of their success in the seduction of the wives and daughters of the citizens of London.

To remedy these moral and political disorders, King Henry published an edict against all offenders, especially adulterers; several of the nobility, who had been notorious oppressors of the people, were banished from the court; Ranulphus Bishop of Durham, the unpopular minister of the late king, was imprisoned; and those noblemen, who had the temerity to continue their outrages, after the proclamation of the royal mandate, were condemned to suffer death by the hands of the common executioner.

The king also abolished the curfew, and granted a charter to his subjects, by which he confirmed several of the liberties enjoyed by the people during the reign of the Saxon kings, especially Alfred, and Edward the Confessor. This charter, on which the great charter afterwards granted by King John was founded, restored the ancient liberties of the church, and the people; and having been approved by the lords spiritual and temporal, a transcript of it was sent to each county, and lodged in the principal monastery to be occasionally consulted.

Having thus obtained the esteem of the people, the king, under the pretext of his right to the dukedom of Normandy, invaded his brother Robert's dominions with a powerful host, in the year 1107, and at the battle of Tichenbray the English obtained a decisive victory over the Normans, and took possession of the country. Thus by a fortuitous incident, about forty years after the battle of Hastings, which terminated in the conquest of England, the English became conquerors of Normandy. The victor, however, tarnished his glory by inclemency to his brother, who was taken prisoner in the field of battle, and sent over to Cardiff Castle, where he died, after twenty-six years of close confinement.

King Henry, having received the homage of his Norman vassals, returned to England, and soon afterwards ambassadors were sent to the English court

from the emperor Henry the Fifth, demanding the King of England's daughter, Matilda, in marriage. This proposal was received by the king with joy, for his ambition was gratified by such a splendid alliance ; the wedding was celebrated by proxy, and the princess, who was then very young, was sent over the following year to her imperial husband, with a numerous retinue, and a dowry suitable to her rank.

The prosperity of the King of England made him unmindful of his charter, and the auspicious commencement of his reign in favour of the liberties of the people. Elated with success, he became presumptuous, and exacted the most exorbitant taxes without remorse. In the year 1120 he had the misfortune to lose his only son, Prince William, who in the seventeenth year of his age, was, with nearly one hundred and forty of the English nobility, lost in a voyage from France to England.

The king convened the vassals of the crown in 1127, and proposed that the Empress Matilda, who had resided at the court of her father since the death of the emperor, should be acknowledged presumptive heir to the crown of England. The members of this assembly gave their unanimous consent, and Stephen, Earl of Boulogne, nephew to the king, was the first who took the oath of allegiance to Matilda. Soon after this ceremony, the princess was married to Geoffrey Plantagenet, Earl of Anjou.

In the year 1135, while the king resided in the castle of Lyons, he was seized with a distemper which proved mortal. When he perceived that the hour of his dissolution approached, he sent for Robert Earl of Gloucester, his favourite son. The dying father earnestly gave it as his last injunction to the earl, that he should assert the right of his sister, Matilda, to the English crown, which he then promised to perform, and afterwards realized, in his brilliant contest with King Stephen.

Twenty-four days after the demise of King Henry, his nephew Stephen Duke of Boulogne, and grandson to William the Conqueror, assumed the sceptre of England, notwithstanding the prior claim of the Empress Matilda, to whom the barons and clergy had formerly sworn allegiance. But although invested with royal authority by the clergy, the pretensions of Stephen met with a bold competitor in Robert Earl of Gloucester, who landed in England in the year 1136, for the purpose of disputing the succession. Soon after his arrival, however, finding with what facility Stephen had ascended the throne, he thought it expedient to temporize, and accordingly took the oath of allegiance to that sovereign, with the stipulation that he should be no longer bound by it, than the king continued to govern the people according to his coronation oath, and his profuse promises to the barons, and the clergy.

But the people in general were unfavourable to their new king, and in the third year of his reign, a general revolt of the barons, and their vassals, prevailed throughout England.* Robert Earl of Gloucester was at the head of the insurgents. He previously avowed himself the partisan of his sister, the Empress Matilda; wrote a letter to Stephen, upbraiding him with the breach of his oath to that princess, and published a manifesto, in which he styled the king an usurper, and formally declared war against him. To this letter Stephen returned no answer, but confiscated the estates of the earl in Gloucestershire, and compelled him to retire to the Continent.

In the year 1138, the Earl of Gloucester returned to England, and took possession of Bristol with great facility, on account of the multitude of his adherents in the city, and surrounding district. At the same time, several noblemen, who were partisans of the empress, took possession of the new castles which had been erected by Stephen for the security of the crown. But

* Malmabury.

the king was unintimidated by this powerful faction, and at the head of his army marched against the confederates with such promptitude and activity, that he disconcerted their plans, and reduced their fortifications one after another. Hence the Earl of Gloucester had the mortification to find his adherents diminished and dispirited, and found it expedient to retire to the Continent. But this temporary triumph of King Stephen, and the consequent interval of peace enjoyed by the nation, were succeeded by a still more fatal contention between the king and the bishops, which was carried to such a degree of animosity, that the prelates had recourse to arms.

At this period the bishops lived in royal state, in strong castles, defended by a well-appointed garrison. The bishops of Salisbury, Lincoln, and Ely, were particularly remarkable for the magnificence of their household establishment, and numerous retinue; and when they came to the court of their sovereign, they were attended by so formidable a body of armed dependants, that they seemed rather to assume superiority than acknowledge that of their sovereign. Such an assumption of pomp and authority in the clergy, was highly offensive, not only to Stephen, but the nobility in general; and, in consequence of a riot at Oxford, in which the Bishop of Salisbury's followers were the aggressors, the king required that prelate, and his brethren, to deliver up their castles as pledges for their future allegiance. An insurrection was the consequence; but Stephen marched against the insurgents, and soon reduced them to submission. He then made himself master of the principal castles belonging to the bishops, and seized their treasures.

This contest with the bishops, however, soon rendered the king very unpopular, insomuch that he was looked upon by many of his subjects with abhorrence; and their disaffection was strongly fomented by the inferior clergy, who represented this attack upon the property of the church as sacrilegious. The kingdom swarmed with malecontents, who only wanted a leader; and the

empress, availing herself of this juncture, landed in Sussex, accompanied by the Earl of Gloucester, and attended by one hundred and forty knights. This event is very circumstantially recorded by Lord Lyttelton.

“ Adelaïs, the widow of King Henry I. though she was married again to William de Albiney, Earl of Arundel and of Sussex, retained such an affectionate regard to the memory of her deceased husband, that she kept up a secret friendship with his daughter Matilda, which the Earl of Gloucester now thought they might avail themselves of, to draw them out of the difficulties they were under how to land with safety in England. Arundel Castle was a part of her dower. Stephen had put no garrison into it, out of respect to the lady in whose right it was held; nor did he think of guarding the coast about it with an army or fleet, as he had no suspicion of her corresponding at this time with the empress, because he lived in friendship with her husband. A secret application was therefore made to her, by the Earl of Gloucester and Matilda, to receive them into the castle; which she consenting to, they came into Arundel harbour on the last day of September, in the year eleven hundred and thirty-nine. After a very short abode in the castle, the earl, attended by only twelve of the knights whom he had brought over from Anjou, went from thence in a dark night, and travelled towards Bristol, by unfrequented roads, passing unknown through a country that was more than any other devoted to the king. When he was come about half of his way to that city, Brian Fitz-comte, governor, or constable, of Wallingford Castle, met and escorted him, during the rest of his journey, with a good body of troops. Thus he arrived safe at Bristol: but it appeared no small hazard, to which he exposed the person of Matilda, by leaving her thus shut up in Arundel Castle. Yet he thought he might securely depend upon the faith of the dowager queen, and the great strength of the place, which the enemy could not take without a long siege; so that he hoped to relieve it, before his sister should suffer any extreme inconvenience, and to make himself master of all the west of England, while Stephen was employed in besieging her there. The project was that

of a great man, extraordinary, but well grounded. And Matilda's courage was such, that there is reason to believe she gave her consent to it, with as much confidence as her brother advised it.

“ Intelligence being brought to the king of her landing, he instantly quitted Marlborough, which he was besieging, and with the best of his forces, very expeditiously came before Arundel Castle, hoping to find the Earl of Gloucester there with the empress. But when he was informed that the earl was gone, he pursued him with part of his troops, leaving a sufficient number to block up the castle, and the pursuit being ineffectual, returned to the siege and pressed it vigorously, thinking with good reason that he ought to make that his principal object, his principal enemy being there enclosed. But the Bishop of Winchester advised him to let her go out of the castle and join the Earl of Gloucester, under a notion that he might more easily subdue them together, than while they were separate. Stephen was so weak, as to follow his advice, and having first given her hostages, as well as his oath, for her security, sent her under his own safe conduct to Bristol, escorted by his brother and the Earl of Meulant, his chief minister; a thing hardly credible, if it were not attested by so many historians, that a king should convey a princess, who came to invade and claim his kingdom, out of a castle in which he held her besieged, to another part of the country, where her greatest strength and interest lay, safely and peaceably, under the guard of his own troops! It was indeed a strange effect of that infatuation, which sometimes seems to shew itself in the conduct of a sovereign whom the Providence of God intends to chastise. For even supposing that it would have been necessary for Stephen to go, and make head in the west against the Earl of Gloucester, he might have committed the siege of Arundel Castle, during his absence, to William of Ipres, or at least have blocked up the place so closely, by sea and land, as to hinder Matilda's escape, instead of sending her to head her friends, dispel the anxiety they were in for her safety, and foment the revolt.

“ Matilda having been thus by the folly of Stephen, delivered from her confinement in Arundel Castle, found herself mistress, in a very short time, of a considerable part of the kingdom. The Earl of Gloucester had so fortified the city of Bristol, as to make it impregnable. By the abilities of the Earl of Gloucester, who had all the great qualities that are requisite in the head of a party, and all the virtues that could be consistent with the unhappy necessities of that situation, the cause of the empress was supported.”*

The Earl of Gloucester, whose character and influence gave confidence to the confederates, now assumed the prerogatives of a sovereign, and coined money at Bristol for the payment of his troops.†

Meanwhile Stephen was not inactive, but marched against the insurgents with his characteristic ardour. The decisive battle of Lincoln terminated the contest in favour of the empress, for on this occasion the bravery and skill of the king were counterpoised by the prowess of the Earl of Gloucester, who in person took Stephen prisoner. The victor conducted his royal captive into the presence of the empress, who ungenerously commanded him to be confined in chains in the castle of Bristol. This severity, which was totally incompatible with the magnanimity of the Earl of Gloucester, is only attributable to the pride and malevolence of his sister.

The partisans of the imprisoned king having relinquished a hopeless cause, Matilda, who was every where acknowledged victor, and was received with

* Lord Lyttelton's History of the Life of Henry the Second, vol. 1. p. 250, &c.

† “ There were at this time two armies in the field; one headed by Robert, the other by Eustace, both of which must be paid; and the currency of money at that time was so small, that the prelates, earls, and barons, took upon them to coin their own money, according to Hoveden. This will rationally account for this coin having been struck by Robert Earl of Gloucester. The name Roberdus on this penny seems to be owing to a mistake in punching the letters on the die.”—Vide Observations on a Coin of Robert Earl of Gloucester.—Archæologia, Vol. 4. p. 137.

congratulations even by the citizens of London, now looked forward to the completion of her hopes by a coronation; but the Bishop of Winchester, brother to the captive sovereign, counteracted all her projects. Before this popular and powerful prelate proceeded to open hostilities, he entreated the empress to set his brother at liberty; but she haughtily rejected his request. Entreaties being unavailing, the bishop laid a plot to seize the person of Matilda, of which having received a secret intimation, she escaped precipitately from London, and putting herself at the head of her army, attended by the Earl of Gloucester, and David, King of Scotland, she marched to besiege Winchester. The bishop was at his castle, and perceiving that on the approach of the empress, the inhabitants of Winchester appeared zealous in her cause, he set fire to the city, and reduced it, and twenty churches and a nunnery, to ashes. He then abandoned his castle, which was immediately taken possession of by the Earl of Gloucester; but a reinforcement of Kentish men coming most opportunely to the aid of the bishop, he besieged the castle so closely, that at the expiration of two months, the earl and his troops, reduced almost to famine, resolved to cut their way through the army of the besiegers.

Accordingly they sallied out in good order, with Matilda, and the King of Scotland, in the van, while the Earl of Gloucester commanded the rear. They were immediately attacked by the king's troops, who were frequently repulsed by the bravery and skill of the earl, whose efforts enabled the empress to effect her escape. But the earl was himself taken prisoner; for, intent on the safety of his sister, and the preservation of his troops, he, with characteristic gallantry, marched last through a defile, where, after defending himself with undaunted resolution, he was taken prisoner, and conducted under a strong escort to Rochester.

During the imprisonment of the Earl of Gloucester, he was solicited by the Bishop of Winchester, and the rest of the king's friends, to abandon the cause

of Matilda; but notwithstanding his captivity, and the dangers with which he was surrounded, he continued stedfast in his allegiance to his sister. After the earl had continued six months in prison, Matilda, in order to effect his liberation, consented that King Stephen should be set at liberty. Accordingly, the king was released, after having suffered the rigours of confinement for nine months.

From that period, the king's party obtained the ascendancy, insomuch that the Earl of Gloucester thought it expedient to solicit the aid of the Earl of Anjou in defence of the rights of Matilda, and her son Henry. But that prince, who was engaged in a civil war, could only afford the aid of a few troops, which invaded England in the year 1142, under the command of the Earl of Gloucester, who was accompanied by his nephew, Prince Henry.

Prior to this period, Bristol, the counties lying on the side of the Severn, and that part of Wales inhabited by English settlers, had declared for Matilda; but notwithstanding the influence of the Earl of Gloucester, she was unable to obtain the crown. A civil war ensued, with little interruption, for eight years; and wasted and depopulated the country, without deciding the contest in favour of either competitor. After the return of the Earl of Gloucester from the Continent, the war was continued with little vigour, a few skirmishes, and the siege of several castles, being the whole of the military operations. Meanwhile the earl turned his attention to the education of Prince Henry, who resided at the castle of Bristol during four years, and was placed under the tuition of the best instructors. At the expiration of that time, the Earl of Anjou, being desirous to see his son Henry, who had now completed his education, the prince was accompanied by the Earl of Gloucester to Wareham, where he embarked for the Continent. The earl returned to Bristol, where he died on the 31st of August, 1147, in the 56th year of his age, and was buried in the choir of the priory of St. James, in this city, under a green jasper stone.

Robert Earl of Gloucester was the most accomplished and virtuous nobleman of the age, equally distinguished for his valour, munificence, and piety. When he rebuilt the castle of Bristol of stone which was imported from Normandy, he gave every tenth stone towards the erection of a chapel to the honour of St. Mary, in the priory of St. James, in this city. He also built the castle of Cardiff, and founded Margam Abbey, in Glamorganshire; and he was a benefactor to the monasteries of Neath, Tewkesbury, and Gloucester. His literary knowledge gave him a decisive superiority over his noble cotemporaries, and he communicated a taste for science and literature to his nephew. “The four years which Prince Henry passed in England at Bristol, laid the foundation of all that was afterwards most excellent in him; for his earliest impressions were taken from his uncle, who not only in learning, but in all other perfections, in magnanimity, valour, prudence, and all moral virtues, was the best example that could be proposed to his imitation.”* With such endowments and accomplishments, the Earl of Gloucester became so popular in England, that he might readily have obtained the crown, but he gloried in his inviolable allegiance to his sister, from which nothing could make him swerve. In the army, indeed, he exercised the authority of a general; and when a resident of his castle, he ruled as a sovereign. In the year 1141, he appointed Milo, Earl of Hereford, governor of his castle at Bristol; but during the civil war, many outrages were committed with impunity by the garrison, not only upon the defenceless husbandmen and shepherds of the circumjacent country, but even the inhabitants of the town itself. That the possessions of Robert Earl of Gloucester were very extensive, is evident from the fortress erected for the protection of his domain in Wales; and it is recorded, that Robert Fitzharding held of him the manor of Bedminster.†

When King Stephen took possession of the castle of Bristol, after the death of the Earl of Gloucester, he appointed Bartholomew de Curishall governor; but when Henry II. ascended the English throne, in the year 1154, the castle

* Lord Lyttelton's History of the Life of Henry II.

† Tanner's Notitia Monastica.

was restored to William, the eldest son and successor of Robert Earl of Gloucester. The favourite residence of William was at Cardiff Castle, in Glamorganshire, to which he had retired on the death of his father. This castle he possessed by hereditary right from Robert Fitzhamon, who, in the time of William II. had, with twelve knights, and their followers, subdued the circumjacent territory.

Earl William, while he resided in Wales, experienced much annoyance from Yvor, one of his vassals, a man of diminutive stature, but of indefatigable activity and invincible courage. The retreat of Yvor, and his adherents, was in the woody mountains near the castle; and the Earl of Gloucester frequently endeavoured, but in vain, to dislodge him from those sylvan fortifications. Yvor, exasperated at the hostility of the earl, boldly approached the castle of Cardiff with his partisans, and though the battlements were high, and strongly guarded by one hundred and twenty soldiers, and a number of archers, the assailants successfully scaled the walls, surprized and disarmed the troops, and carried off the earl, his countess, and their young son, to the woods. This bold adventurer afterwards released his captives, on receiving the earl's promise that he should have full restitution of his property.

On the accession of Henry II. to the throne, in the year 1155, he commanded all the castles which had been erected since the death of Henry I. and which were receptacles of rapine, to be demolished, except a few which were retained by the crown, on account of their advantageous situation for the defence of the kingdom, and the protection of the maritime towns. Robert Fitzharding, who was then governor of Bristol, and, by the supplies of money and troops which he afforded to Henry, on his invading England, in the year 1152, had been principally instrumental in the recovery of the throne from the usurper Stephen, was rewarded by his grateful sovereign with the estates of

* Giraldus Cambrensis. Itin. Cambr. lib. 1, cap. 6.

Berkeley, which were confiscated in consequence of the former possessor having fought for Stephen. But Roger, the late proprietor of Berkeley, was permitted to retain his title and estate of Dursley; his being dispossessed of his other hereditary estate, however, excited such a violent hatred and resentment against Fitzharding, that the interference of Stephen and Henry was found requisite to effect the reconciliation of these noblemen. Their amity was further established by a marriage between Maurice, son of Fitzharding, and Alice, a daughter of Lord Dursley; and also between Robert, the heir of Dursley, and Helena, daughter of Robert Earl of Berkeley. The nuptials were solemnized with great magnificence at Bristol, in the presence of Stephen and Henry. Hence Robert Fitzharding was not only governor of Bristol, but Earl of Berkeley; yet his acquisition of power was exercised with great moderation. He was a liberal benefactor to the monastery of St. Augustine, which he founded in Bristol; and he was also founder of the hospital of St. Catherine, at Bedminster, near this city.

Robert Fitzharding, on coming into possession of Berkeley Castle, repaired and enlarged that fortress. He took his seat as peer in the parliament convened in the first year of the reign of Henry II. He married Eve, the daughter of Estmond, and Godwina, sister to William the Conqueror, by whom he had four sons and two daughters. It appears that in the decline of his life he became a devotee; for it is recorded that he was a canon of the abbey of St. Augustine, in Bristol, and when he died, in the year 1170, at the age of seventy-five years, he was interred between the abbot and prior's cell, at the entrance of the choir in that monastery.* His eldest son and successor, Robert, laid aside the name of Harding, and assumed that of Berkeley. He was a benefactor to the hospital of St. Catherine, in Bedminster.

William Earl of Gloucester, who distinguished himself more by his munificence to monasteries and religious establishments, than his military exploits, died in

* Collinson's History and Antiquities of the County of Somerset, p. 276.

the year 1173, and was buried in the abbey of Keynsham. His only son, Robert, died in his father's life-time; his eldest daughter, Matilda, was married to the Earl of Evereux; his second daughter, Amice, was married to the Earl of Hertford; and his third daughter, Avis, was united to John Earl of Moreton,* the youngest son of King Henry II. The king had retained the castle of Bristol, and the honour of Gloucester, during eight years after the demise of William, the late earl; but on the marriage of his son with Avis,† he conferred them on the prince, together with the hundred of Barton Regis, near Bristol. Hence this city, with its castle and domains, came into the possession of a presumptive heir to the crown, and from this period it arose, by a regular gradation, to that enviable opulence and importance, which it now enjoys.

The first royal charter granted to Bristol was by John Earl of Moreton, in the year 1190, and is to the following purport.

The Charter of John Earl of Moreton to his Burgesses of Bristow.

“ John Earl of Moreton to all his men and friends, Frenchmen and Englishmen, Welchmen and Irishmen, now present, and in time to come, greeting. Know ye, that I have granted, and by this my present charter confirmed, to my burgesses of Bristow, dwelling within the walls and without, unto the bounds of the town, that is to say, Sandbrook, Bewel, and Brightnee-bridge, and the well in the way near Addlebury of Knoll,‡ all their free customs, as well, and

* Rapin's History of England.

† “ King John had no issue by her, and so repudiating her, toke to wyfe the Erle of Hereforde's daughter, and reteynid yn his hondes the town and castelle of Brightstowe within the hundred of Berton, lying in Glocestyrshire hard by Brightstowe, as betwixt the forest of Kingeswode and it: and so it hathe synce stil remaynid yn the kinge's handes.”—Leland's Itin, vol. 6. p. 86.

‡ These were the ancient boundaries of the town, which were not enlarged at the perambulation in the reign of Edward III. 1373, when inquisition was made of its ancient liberties, upon the oaths of thirty-six jurors, before magistrates appointed for that purpose. At that period these bounds were ratified by a record in the Court of Chancery, under the great seal, and confirmed by act of parliament.

in a full and free manner as in the time of my predecessors. The liberties which are granted to them are these : that is to say, that no burgess of Bristow may sue or be sued out of the walls of the said town, in any place, except for any pleas of foreign tenements that do not belong to the hundred of the town ; and that they shall be free of murder within the bounds of the town ; and that no burgess shall wage duel, unless he were appealed of the death of any foreigner that was killed in the town, and who was not of the town ; and that no man shall take an inn within the walls by the assent and order of the marshal, against the will of the burgesses. And that they shall be free from toll, lastage, and pontage, and of all other customs, through all my lands and territories. And that none shall be judged and amerced in money, but according to the laws of the hundred, that is to say, by the forfeiture of forty shillings. And that the hundred court of Bristow be kept only once in seven days ; and that in no plea any one be charged with *prevarication*. And that they may lawfully have their lands and tenures, days of appearance and duty, through all my lands, whatsoever shall be due unto them. And that for the lands and tenures within the town, right be done according to the custom of the town. And that for the debts which were made in Bristow, and for the pledges there made, pleas may be there holden in the town. And that if any one, any where, of any land shall take toll of the men of Bristow, if he doth not deliver it again after it shall be demanded to be restored, to the provost, he may take and ~~distrain~~ a ship for the same. And that no foreign merchant shall buy within the town of any stranger hides, corn, or wool, but of the burgesses. And that no foreigner shall have any tavern but in his ship, nor sell cloth to be cut but in the fair. And that no stranger shall tarry in the town with his merchandizes to sell the same, but only forty days. And that no burgess any where else within my land or jurisdiction shall be attached or distrained for any debt, unless he be debtor or surety. And that they may marry themselves, and sons and daughters, and widows, without licence of their lords. And that none of their lords, by reason of their foreign lands, may have the custody or gift of their sons and daughters or widows ; but only of their tenements, which be of their

fee, until they be of age. And that no recognizance be made in the town. And that none shall take tynam in the town, but to the use of the lord of the country, and that according to the custom of the town. And that they may grind their corn wheresoever they will. And they may have all their reasonable guilds in as full manner as they held them in the time of Robert, and William his son, earls of Glocester. And no burgess shall be compelled to take sureties of any man, except himself be willing thereunto, although he be remaining on his ground. And I have also granted to them all their holds, within the walls and without, unto the aforesaid mounds of the town, in houses and woods, in buildings, by the water and elsewhere, wheresoever it shall be, to be holden in free burgage; that is to say, by landgable service, which they shall do within the walls. And I have also granted, that every one of them may amend as much as he can, in making buildings, every where upon the bank and elsewhere, without the damage of the borough and town. And that they may have and possess all lands and void places, which are contained in the said mounds, at their wills to build. Wherefore I will and strictly command, that my said burgesses of Bristow, and their heirs, shall have and hold all those aforesaid liberties and free customs as aforesaid, of me and my heirs, as amply, wholly, peaceably, and honourably, as ever they had the same, when well, and in time of peace, without the hindrance or molestation of any person whatsoever.

“ Witness, Stephen Rid, my chancellor, William de Wennen, Roger de Dlan, Roger de Newborough, Maurice de Berkly, Robert his brother, Harmer Deval, Simon de Marisco, Gilbert Ralph, William de la Feleyse, Master Benedict, Master Peter, and many others at Bristow.”

This important charter is illustrative of the state of laws, commerce, society, and manners, at the remote period when it was granted; yet the reader can receive but little gratification from a retrospect of the almost incredible ignorance and vassalage which then prevailed, not only throughout England, but the nations of Europe in general. When William I. parcelled out this

kingdom to his Norman adventurers, he also gave the inhabitants of the manors as vassals to cultivate the soil. Hence a numerous class of men, called villains, who inhabited the villages, were obliged to work for their lord without reward ; they were incapable of acquiring any property by inheritance, industry, or gift, their money, goods, and lands, being seizable at the option of the baron, who was only restrained by the common law from maiming or killing his vassals, or ravishing the female slaves or *nieves*. But another class of men, who were free in their person, obtained a livelihood by working as journeymen at the few trades then known, or as day labourers at agriculture. The majority of the inhabitants of the walled towns, or boroughs,* were, however, the property of some lord ; they held their tenements, called *burgage*, at his will, and worked at some trade by his permission, paying him whatever part of the profits of their industry he might think proper to require. The trades at that period were few, and such as contributed to supply the necessities of the community, particularly those of mason, carpenter, smith, baker, butcher, clothier, and taylor ; but the conquest of England by the Normans gradually introduced whatever useful or elegant in dress, furniture, or building, was then known on the Continent. Architecture, particularly the ancient gothic style, which gave such an air of grandeur to the churches and monasteries, was also introduced at this period : and various improvements in the art of fortification were adopted in the construction of castles. But the houses of the common people, even in the great towns of England, were inelegant and inconvenient ; the repeated hostilities of foreign invaders, and the oppressive exactions of the Norman settlers, impoverished the people ; and even their manufactures of linen, woollen, earthen ware, iron, and tin, were suffered to languish, without the cheering influence of royal patronage.

The immunities and privileges conferred by Prince John on Bristol, contributed essentially to its advancement in trade and population. On the

* The meaning of the word borough was originally a walled town.

demise of King Henry II. in the year 1189, his son Richard assumed the reins of government. King Richard was surnamed *cœur de lion*, for his invincible courage ; and soon after the ceremony of his coronation, made preparations for the crusade ; but as he was suspicious that his brother John might seize the crown during his absence, he conferred several favours on him, to secure his grateful fidelity.

In addition to the earldom of Gloucester,* which Prince John already enjoyed, Richard invested him with six earldoms, namely, those of Somerset, Cornwall, Dorset, Nottingham, Derby, and Lancaster. After having thus secured the attachment of his brother, and renewed his alliances with the kings of Scotland and Wales, to preserve the tranquillity of the kingdom during his absence, Richard embarked his troops, and set sail for France, where he was to be joined by King Philip and his army. The crusades, though unsuccessful in the conquest of the Saracens, and their expulsion from Jerusalem, were beneficial to the commercial intercourse of England, not only with Europe, but with Africa and Asia.

The feudal government cherished that passion for military glory, which was productive of such numerous instances of heroism, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Chivalry may indeed be said to have attained the meridian of its glory in the reign of Richard I. but its influence on society and manners, was paramount for ages prior to that period. According to the feudal system, each landed proprietor was a soldier, and bound to follow his lord on horseback when he went to war. Hence the education of young noblemen was entirely military, learning, and the polite arts, being then in their infancy in Europe, and thought derogatory to the dignity of the heroic character. The idea of whatever was magnanimous, generous, and gallant, was attached to knighthood; and consequently

* Rapin informs us that the late Earl of Gloucester, father of Avis, for reasons unknown, had made John his heir; but this is an error, for King Henry II. doubtless retained the earldom for several years, and afterwards conferred it on his son, as the dowry of the lady Avis.

the protection of the fair sex, and the redress of injuries, were considered as the indispensable duties of the accomplished knight. Nay, in many instances an appeal to the sword superseded the operation of the laws.

Knighthood was an honorary dignity, which was thought to add lustre to the highest degree of nobility, nay, even to royalty itself; and its influence on the manners of European nations, during three centuries, was so great as to form the characters and manners of the most distinguished individuals. The following account of the nature and purposes of this singular institution, may afford a rational gratification to curiosity.

“ When Alphonso V. King of Portugal, had taken the city of Arzila by assault, from the Moors, he went in great solemnity to the principal mosque, where he prayed for some minutes before a crucifix, which was placed upon the corpse of the Count de Marialva, who had been killed in the action. He then commanded his son, the Infant of Portugal, to kneel down, then drew his sword, and said to the prince, ‘ My son, we have received this day a great favour from Almighty God, who has made us masters of so important a place, and given me so fair an opportunity of conferring on you the honour of knighthood, and arming you with my own hand. But, first to instruct you what the nature of that order is, know my son, that it consists in a close confederacy or union of power and virtue, to establish peace among men, whenever ambition, avarice, or tyranny, trouble states, or injure individuals. For knights are bound to employ their swords on these occasions, in order to dethrone tyrants, and put good men in their place. But they are likewise obliged to keep fidelity to their sovereign, as well as to obey their chiefs in war, and to give them salutary counsels. It is also the duty of a knight to be frank and liberal, and to think nothing his own, but his horse and arms, which he ought to keep for the sake of acquiring honour with them, by using them in the defence of his religion and country, and of those who are unable to defend themselves. For, as the priesthood was instituted for divine service, so was chivalry for the maintenance of religion and

justice. A knight ought to be the husband of widows, the father of orphans, the protector of the poor, and the stay of those who have no other support; and they who do not act thus are unworthy to bear that name. These, my son, are the obligations which the order of knighthood will lay upon you; consider whether you are desirous of it upon these terms.' The prince having expressed his acquiescence, the king asked him if he would promise to perform all those several duties, and make them to be observed, with other rights and customs of the order of knighthood? To which the prince having consented, 'On these conditions,' said the king, 'I make and arm you a knight, in the name of God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost;' and at each of these sacred names striking him with his sword on the helmet, he added, 'May God make you as good a knight as this whose body you see before you, pierced in several places, for the service of God, and of his sovereign.' Then kissing him in the forehead, he raised him up with his hand."*

The ceremonies of inauguration in England were somewhat different. It was customary that the person who was to be knighted should receive absolution the evening before; and after having watched all night in a church, he in the morning should offer his sword on the altar, and receive it from the priest, with a benediction. When the honour of knighthood was conferred by the king in person, which was frequently the case, the candidate was bathed, and afterwards, his sword was girded on by his sovereign, who also put on his feet a pair of gilt spurs, and struck him gently with a sword on the neck, head, or shoulders. This solemnity was graced with the songs and music of minstrels, who attended on the knight, and by many other marks of rejoicing and honour.†

Both the defensive and offensive armour of a knight were of superior excellence, and in some instances, of great value. When Geoffry Plantagenet,

* Marmel. Africa. t. ii. l. 4. c. 53.

† Upton de Militari Officio, l. 1. c. 3.

the father of Henry II. received the honour of knighthood, he was armed with a habergeon of double plates, or scollops, of steel, which no arrow or lance could penetrate; his cuishes, or boots of iron, were equally strong. Gilt spurs were put on his feet, a shield was hung on his neck, adorned with lions of gold, and his head was defended with a helmet, which glittered with precious stones, and was so well forged, that no sword could penetrate it; his defensive arms consisted of a lance of ash, armed with the steel of Poitou, and a sword from the royal armory, where it had been laid up for ages, being the workmanship of Galan, who had forged it with his utmost skill.* Thus equipped, and inspired with all the ardour of religious and martial enthusiasm, a knight was truly formidable.

In France, the education given to those who aspired to the honour of knighthood, was well calculated to make them good soldiers. A young gentleman destined to arms, was taken when he was seven years old, out of the hands of the women, and remained a page till fourteen, in the family of a knight; after which he served seven years in the quality of esquire, and then was knighted. After the Conquest of England by William Duke of Normandy, a similar method of education was adopted in this country; for the Norman princes introduced into their courts the manners of the French, with little variation. With the English, fifteen was accounted the lawful age of knighthood.†

According to the laws of chivalry, every knight vowed fidelity to some lady, whose favours he wore in tournaments and battles, and for whose honour he was always prepared to combat. This amatory sentiment was inculcated in their education; and hence the passion of love was an incitement to their valour, while it humanized their manners. Every knight had power to make other knights, wherever he went. During the reign of King Stephen, the Earl of

* Monach. Mariemb. Hist. Guafrid.

† Spelman.

Glocester conferred the honour of knighthood on his brother ; nay, some of our kings themselves have been knighted by their own subjects.*

The institution of knighthood was admirably calculated to cherish generous and exalted sentiments ; and, as a noble historian justly observes, “ From the ninth to the sixteenth century, the brightest virtues which dignified either the history of this nation, or that of any other people in the whole Christian world, were chiefly derived from this source. Had it not been for the spirit of chivalry, the corruption of religion,—the want of all good learning,—the superstition,—the ferocity,—the barbarism of the times, would have extinguished all virtue and sense of humanity, as well as all generous sentiments of honour, in the hearts of the nobility and gentry of Europe : nor would they have been able to resist the military enthusiasm of the Saracens and the Turks, without the aid of another kind of fanaticism, which was excited and nourished in them by means of that spirit.”†

During the continuance of this romantic institution, European armies were principally composed of cavalry ; the infantry, for the most part, were archers, and both the Welsh and English were celebrated for their strength and dexterity in drawing the bow. Besides the heavy cavalry, there were light armed horsemen, who only wore a habergeon and helmet of iron. The defensive armour of the infantry consisted of skull-caps, and light breast-plates or targets of wood.

Tilts and tournaments, for the display of personal dexterity and prowess in the use of arms, were first introduced into Germany by the Emperor Henry, in the tenth century.‡ In the following century, they were established in France

* Henry the Sixth was knighted by the Duke of Bedford ; and Edward the Sixth by the Duke of Somerset.

† Lord Lyttelton's History of the Life of King Henry II. vol. 2. p. 249.

‡ Selden.

and England. They were regulated by a peculiar code of laws, sanctioned by royal authority.

These military exercises were of great use to instruct the nobility in the management of their horses and lances; they also cherished a martial disposition, and an emulation for military glory, in time of peace. Nor were these military amusements confined to the nobility, or even those who had received the honour of knighthood; for we are informed that in the time of Henry II. every Sunday, during lent, the sons of the citizens of London sallied forth in troops, from the gates, mounted on war-horses, and armed with shields and lances, or javelins, the iron of which was taken off; and proceeded to the fields, where they exercised themselves in mock fights, and acts of military contention. On those occasions, many of the young nobility and gentry, who had not been knighted, came from the palace, and engaged in those tournaments. It was also customary for the young citizens, every holiday during summer, to go into the fields and practice archery, wrestling, throwing missile weapons, and other martial sports; and during the festival of Easter, they represented a naval engagement on the river Thames.*

The maritime force of England was very considerable when Richard ascended the throne. The navy was principally composed of galleys, which were long, narrow, and low built, with two rows of oars. The prow was strengthened with a piece of wood covered with iron, which was called a spur, and was designed to pierce the ships of the enemy. Before Richard embarked in that memorable crusade, in which he became so highly distinguished, he augmented his navy with several large galleys; and we are informed that after the conquest of Cyprus, when all his galleys arrived in one of the ports of that island, including five which he had taken from the Cypriots, they amounted to one hundred. Fifty of

* Fitz-Stephen.

these were *triremes*, or gallies of three oars;* and besides these armed vessels, he sailed from Messina with one hundred and fifty large ships, which he used as transports.†

The foreign commerce of England, in the twelfth century, was extensive and lucrative, as is evident from the fact, that when King Richard I. ordered an exact account to be taken of the royal treasure, the amount was about ninety thousand pounds weight in silver and gold. The prelates, and principal nobility, had also much plate, and rich ornaments, in their houses and wardrobes; and the cathedral churches, and those belonging to several of the monasteries, were decorated with crucifixes, shrines, and vessels of gold and silver. As there are no historical records respecting the discovery of mines of gold or silver in England, and those precious metals were very rare in Europe at this period, the balance of trade with other nations must have been greatly in favour of the English. But the articles which were so productive are unknown. We are indeed told by a learned writer, “ that in the time of Henry the Second, and Richard the First, this kingdom greatly flourished in the art of manufacturing woollen cloth: but by the troublesome wars in the time of King John, and Henry the Third, and also of Edward the First and Edward the Second, this manufacture was wholly lost, and all our trade ran out in wool, woolfells, and leather, carried out in specie.”‡ The great staple of the nation was, at this early period, very beneficial to the manufacturers; and both the clothing and dying trades were carried on to a considerable extent, in the cities of Bristol, Worcester, Gloucester, and many other towns, which paid fines to King John, “ that they might buy and sell dyed cloth, as they were accustomed to do in the time of King Henry the Second.”§ In the twenty-seventh year of the same king’s reign, a licence was given to export corn from Norfolk and Suffolk to Norway, which was undoubtedly paid for in specie. The trade from the

* Spelman.

† Hoveden.

‡ Hale’s *Primitive Original of Mankind*, p. 161.

§ Madox’s *History of the Exchequer*.

west of England to every part of Europe, must have been very considerable at this period; for William of Malmsbury expatiates on the wealth of London, and other sea-ports, and the multitude of ships from the different maritime nations of Europe, which, he says, “ filled the port of Bristol, and brought thither much foreign wealth.” The principal articles imported were foreign wines, which were chiefly brought from France.

Among the exports from Bristol, mentioned in the charter granted by King John, were hides, corn, and wool; a proof that the manufacture of woollen goods was then on the decline. Yet the grant for the incorporation of guilds admits the inference, that there were a considerable number of artificers in this borough, at that period. The article of grain exported was probably the principal merchandise supplied by the fertile counties of Somersct, Wilts, and Gloucester; for it was not till the reign of Edward III. that the woollen manufacture became the staple commodity of the west of England,

On the death of King Richard, who was mortally wounded with an arrow at the siege of Chaluz, in 1199, his brother, Prince John, was crowned at Westminster by the Archbishop of Canterbury,* in the presence of the barons, several of the clergy, and a vast concourse of the people.

* The speech of the archbishop on this occasion is too remarkable to be omitted. “ No person can have a right to the crown of this kingdom, unless after humbly invoking God’s holy spirit, he be first unanimously elected for his extraordinary virtues, and then solemnly anointed and consecrated. In this we imitate what was practiced with regard to Saul and David, whom God was pleased to set over his people, though neither of them was the son of a king, nor royally descended. The former was chosen for his valour, the latter for his humility and piety; it being God’s will that such as were to be clothed with sovereign power, should be distinguished in an eminent manner by their virtues. If, therefore, any one of the family of the late king outshines the rest in noble qualities, we ought to make no scruple to submit ourselves to his authority. I say this in behalf of the noble duke John, here present, brother to our illustrious King Richard, who died without issue. This prince being endowed with many virtues, particularly consummate wisdom, and undaunted courage, we therefore, on account of both his birth and merit, elect him for our sovereign lord, after having humbly invoked the Holy Spirit.”

In the second year of his reign, A. D. 1200, he granted the town of Bristol in fee farm to the burgesses, at the annual rent of £245. In the year 1201, when he levied a tax to defray the expence of his expedition to Ireland, the inhabitants of Bristol paid one thousand marks; the men of Redcliff, an equal sum; and the burgesses of Gloucester, five hundred marks, which were paid to Englard de Cigoni, the king's treasurer at Bristol. A very unjustifiable act of despotism of this prince is recorded. In 1210, he seized the property of the Jews; and a rich Jew at Bristol, who refused to pay an exorbitant sum, was tortured into compliance, by the persons employed to enforce the mandate of the tyrant.

The three principal events in the reign of King John, were, his war with Philip King of France, who deprived him of all the provinces which his predecessors held in that kingdom; the deprivation of his crown by Pope Innocent III. who restored it on condition of his paying a shameful homage to that pontiff; and his grant of Magna Charta to the barons, at Runnymede, in the year 1215. Hence the reign of this prince, though inglorious, was propitious to the liberties of the people. The most unjustifiable act of King John was the imprisonment of his niece, the Princess Eleanor of Brittany, whom he brought from the Continent, and immured in Bristol Castle in the year 1202. This unfortunate princess was closely confined here during a period of forty years, being guarded by four knights, lest she should have an opportunity of engaging in a clandestine marriage, by which the succession to the crown might afterwards become disputable. Certainly never were knights employed in a service more inconsistent with the laws of chivalry; and in an age, too, when the romantic heroism of knighthood continued in its meridian glory. King John has also been accused of the assassination of Prince Arthur the brother of Eleanor; but no sufficient proofs of the fact have been brought forward, even by his enemies, for his crimination.

An unpopular tax upon sea-ports, in the thirteenth year of his reign, was withdrawn; and this king made several improvements in the civil government of London, Bristol, and several other places. He was the first king who coined sterling money; he also introduced the English laws into Ireland, and granted to the cinque ports their peculiar privileges.

On the demise of King John, in the year 1216, Prince Henry, his eldest son, to whom he left the crown, was but ten years of age; but he found in the Earl of Pembroke a wise, brave, and loyal subject, whose influence induced the barons to espouse his cause. Accordingly, Prince Henry was crowned at Gloucester, on the 28th day of October, 1216; after which the assembly of the barons, who at that time represented the whole nation, chose the Earl of Pembroke guardian to the king, and protector of the realm, or regent of the kingdom, during the minority of the sovereign.

Soon after his coronation, King Henry III. accompanied by his guardian, the Earl of Pembroke, Gallo, the legate, and several noblemen, came to reside in Bristol for security, the army of the disaffected barons, who had opposed his father, being then in the field. The legate exerted his authority to the utmost, in favour of Henry; and excommunicated the barons who were the partisans of Louis, son to the King of France, who claimed the crown of England. Gallo also persuaded eleven English and Welsh bishops, who came to Bristol, to swear fealty to King Henry.

During his residence in this city, in the year 1216, the king authorised the inhabitants to choose a mayor, and two prepositors; and those are the first municipal officers mentioned in the annals of Bristol.

It is recorded, that in the year 1216, King Henry celebrated the festival of Christmas in Bristol; but how long he afterwards continued here, is unknown.

The inhabitants of Bristol had manifested a steady loyalty to King John, in opposition to those barons who favoured the pretensions of Louis; and the unfortunate Eleanor, another competitor for the crown of England, of which she was undoubtedly the hereditary heiress, had been confined in Bristol Castle, as a place of the greatest security. Here she languished, in hopeless imprisonment, during the minority of King Henry the Third; but it was thought expedient that the governor of the castle should annually exhibit the royal captive before the people, to prevent any suspicion of injurious treatment;* a fact which proves that her captivity excited public commiseration.

The revenue of this princess appears to have been the rent of the manor of Melksham, which she bequeathed to the nunnery of Ambrosbury. She died at Bristol Castle, in the year 1240, after a long captivity; her remains were first interred in the priory of St. James, in this city, but afterwards taken up, and entombed in the church of the nunnery abovementioned, according to her dying request. Prior to this period, Louis had been defeated, and compelled to return to the Continent; and the death of the Princess Eleanor was a new subject of triumph to King Henry, who was thus left in peaceable possession of the throne. The title of Eleanor to the crown, which she could never be persuaded to relinquish, amid all the privations of confinement, had been a continual source of apprehension to King Henry, who was so suspicious of the fidelity of his subjects, that the year preceding her demise, he obliged all persons in England, above the age of twelve years, to take an oath of allegiance to his infant son, Edward, as his successor.

As a reward for the fidelity of Ralph de Wilinton, governor of Bristol Castle, he was appointed by the king warden of the forest and chase of Keynsham;

* The profits of the county were granted to William Purton, for the custody of the castles of Bristol and Gloucester, and for the exhibition of Eleanor, the king's cousin, imprisoned at Bristol, through her claim to the crown.—Fosbrook's History of Gloucestershire.

and the burgesses of Bristol were also recompensed for their loyalty, by several royal charters and immunities, particularly the following, granted by their sovereign in the year 1244.

“ Henry, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou. Know ye, that we do grant, and by this our charter confirm, for us and our heirs, to the burgesses of Bristol, that they may, out of themselves, choose a coroner. And the burgesses, through the trespass of servants, shall not forfeit their goods. And if any of the burgesses should die within our land or jurisdiction, their goods shall not be forfeited by death, with or without a will. And they shall have their liberties as free as the city of London. And the neglect of usage of privileges shall be no prejudice. And all their liberties shall be by them freely enjoyed. Whoever shall violate any of their privileges, shall forfeit twenty pounds. And we do grant and confirm this charter, as it doth reasonably testify. And moreover, we do grant to the burgesses, for us and our heirs, that they and their successors, burgesses of the said town for ever, shall be free of murrage, stallage, and pannage, throughout England, and the dominion thereunto belonging. And whenever they shall choose their mayor (the time of war excepted) they shall present him to the constable of the castle of Bristol, as he was wont to be at the Exchequer, and thereof shall certify to the treasurer. These being our witnesses,—our best beloved brother, Edmund Earl of Kent, &c.”

This charter was dated in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of King Henry, and confirmed in the fortieth.

By a charter of King Henry, granted in the year 1247, Redcliff was incorporated with Bristol, and subject to its municipal jurisdiction. Several important improvements were soon afterwards realized by the inhabitants, particularly the new quay in the marsh of St. Augustine, and a bridge across the Avon, for a ready communication between Redcliff and Bristol.

Leland, in his Itinerary, gives the following account of these important transactions: “ In the year of our Lord 1247 was the trenche made and cut of the river, from Gib Taylor to the Key, by the comonalty as well of Redcliffe syde as of the town of Bristoll ; and the same tyme the inhabitants of Redcliffe were combined and incorporated to the aforesaide towne. As for the ground of Saynt Augustin’s syde of the river, it was geven and granted to the comonalty of the sayed towne by Sir William Bradstone, then being Abbot of the same Monastery for certayne money thereof payed to him by the comonalty, as it apperithe by writynge thereof made betwigne the mayor and comonalty and the abbote and his brethren.”

But among various records, that of Ricaut, in the Mayor’s Calender, is of unquestionable authority, and illustrative of the benefits resulting to the inhabitants of Bristol and Redcliff from these improvements.

“ 1247.—This year the mayor and commonalty of the town of Bristow concluded to build a bridge over the river Avon, with the consent of Redcliff, and the governors of Temple Fee; thereby minding to incorporate them with the town, and so to make of two but one incorporate town. For they passed by boat from St. Thomas’s Slip, unto St. Mary le Port, to come to Bristow; for at that time the port was where St. Nicholas Shambles is, and there the shipping did ride, for which cause the church is called the Church of our Lady her Assumption, and the port, St. Mary Port. At that time no water did run down the quay, but with one current did run down the castle, and so to Keynsham’s river; for the marsh of St. Augustine’s side was one main close, called Center’s Close, belonging then to the abbey of St. Augustine.—For their conveying the river from the point called the Gib to the Quay, the mayor and commonalty as well of the Temple side as of the Town of Bristow, bought so much ground as it parted from St. Augustine’s side, of Sir William Bradstone, the abbot, for a certain sum of money to him paid, as it appeareth by an old

writing made between him and the mayor with the convent. And then the trench was digged for the bringing the river into the quay. For at that time the fresh water from behind the castle mills, did run down under Froome Gate, and so through Baldwin-street, now so called, and it drived a mill, called Baldwin's Cross Mill; and when the trench to the Quay was finished, the water was stopt at the point against the Redcliff, and all the while the foundation of the arches was laying, and the masons building, the water did run down the bridges of Redcliff and Temple Gates, being made for the same purpose; and at Tower Harris the water was bayed that it could not come down to hinder the building, but kept its current that way; and when the bridge was built, the bays were broken down, and the current did ebb and flow as it formerly did, and then the fresh river which did run by Baldwin's Cross was damped up and made a street. Thus these two towns were incorporated into one, both on Somersetshire side and Gloucestershire side, that whereas they had usually on every Monday a great market at the Stallenge Cross in Redcliff, and in Bristow every Wednesday and Friday, at the High Cross, and it was much trouble for the people to pass from one side to the other, the bridge being built, the markett was kept in High-street, at the High Cross."

In this improvement of the harbour of Bristol, the burgesses were assisted by the inhabitants of Redcliff, by virtue of a writ of mandamus sent to them by King Henry III. to the following purport.

"Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou, to all his honest men dwelling in Redcliffe, in the suburb of Bristol, wisheth health. Since our beloved burgesses of Bristol, for the common benefit of the town, and your suburb, have begun a trench or quay in the marsh of St. Augustine, that ships coming to our port of Bristol may more freely and without hindrance come in and go out, which trench indeed they cannot perfect without great charges; we

therefore command you, that since from the improvement of the said port, no small advantage will accrue, not only to those burgesses, but also to you, who are partakers of the same liberties which our said burgesses have in the said town, and are joined with them both in scot and lot, that you lend the same assistance as they do ; as it will also be very profitable and useful to you to have the work of the trench completed, according to what shall fall to your share, together with our burgesses ; and so effectually that the aforesaid work, which we regard as our own, receive no delay through any defect or negligence in you. Witness myself, at Wyndlesore, 29th April, 24th year of our reign."

According to a memorandum in the great white book, in the city chamber, the expence of making the quay was five thousand pounds, a very considerable sum at that period. But the advantages arising from this improvement of the harbour, caused a rapid increase of commerce and population. When the quay was completed, and the marsh of Bristol divided from that of St. Augustine, several warehouses were erected for the reception of merchandise brought by large vessels. Many of the merchants also built houses near the quay, for their residence. Marsh-street, terminated by a gate and a chapel, dedicated to St. Clement, and Back-street, with a gate and a chapel, were built in a few years after the completion of the quay. These streets, with several intermediate buildings between the Back* and the Quay, were enclosed by a strong wall, with battlements. Prior to the year 1247, the Back was the usual place for landing goods ; a custom-house was then erected on the bank of the river, and still remains, adorned with the arms of England in the front.

From this period may be traced the gradual increase of commerce and opulence in this city ; the necessity of deepening its harbour for the reception

* Back, or Beck, is the Saxon name of a river.

of large vessels, is a sufficient proof of the prosperous state of foreign trade, while a more general communication with Somersetshire opened by the erection of a bridge across the Avon, was also productive of a sudden accession of prosperity to Bristol.

It has been asserted, that a bridge of wood had been made across the river, prior to the erection of the stone bridge, in 1247; but the record already quoted invalidates the assertion. For it appears that two distinct markets were formerly held, one on each side of the river, in consequence of the difficulty of a passage over it. Bristol-bridge was built when the river was about two hundred feet broad; it consisted of four narrow elliptic arches, supported by three massy pillars, which occupied nearly one hundred feet of the channel. The bridge was only nine feet broad, and this narrow passage was rendered still more incommodious, by the erection of houses, supported by small gothic arches on each side, which gave it the appearance of a lane. But at this early period in the history of the population and commerce of Bristol, few carriages were used in this kingdom, and those comparatively small. Coaches and waggons were then equally unknown.* The saddle horse, and the palfrey for the pomp of a procession, or the purposes of travelling or hunting, and the pack-horse for the conveyance of merchandise, were then adequate to all the purposes of trade or recreation. The population of the country was then comparatively few, and the extent of Bristol itself inconsiderable. The following curious account of a pompous procession of the inhabitants of Bristol over the bridge, when it was first opened for public accommodation, is taken from an ancient manuscript, the authenticity of which has been disputed; but undoubtedly the joyous event was celebrated with great festivity.

“ On Fridaie was the tyme fixed for passing the newe brydge, about the tyme of the tollynge the 10th clock. Master Greggorie Dalbenye, mounted

* Coaches were first introduced into England in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, A. D. 1589.

on a fergreyne horse, enformed maister maior all thyngs were prepared, and two beadles went fyrst streinge fresh stre, next came a manne drest up as follows. Hose of goatskyn, crine part outwards, doublet and waystcoat also, over which a white robe without sleeves, much like an albe, but not so long, reaching but to his lends, a girdle of azure over his left shoulder reached also to his lends, on the ryght, and doubled back to his left, bucklyng with a goulden buckel, dangled to his knee, thereby representyne a Saxon elderman. In his hande he bare a shield, the maistrie of Gille a Brogton, who painted the same, representynge Saincte Warburgh crossing the ford. Then a mickle strong manne in armour carried a huge anlace; after whom came six claryons and six minstrells, who sang the song of Saincte Warburgh; then came master maior, mounted on a white horse dyght with sable trappins wrought about by the nunnes of Saincte Kenna, with gould and silver; his hayr brayded with ribbons, and a chaperon, with the auntient aarms of Brightstowe, fastened on his forehead. Maister maire bare in his hande a goulden rodde, and a congeon squier bare in his hande his helmet waulking by the syde of the horse: then came the eldermen and citie broders mounted on sable horses, dyght with white trappings and plumes, and scarlet copes and chapaus, haveing thereon sable plumes; after them the preests and freeres, parish mendicants and seculors, some syngyng Saincte Warburgh's song, others soundyng claryons thereto, and others some citrialles.—In thilke manner reechyng the brydge, the manne with the anlace stode on the fyrst top of a mound, yred in the midst of the brydge; than went up the manne with the sheelde, after him the mynstrels and clarions; and then the preests and freeres all in white albs, makyng a most goodlye shewe; the maior and eldermen standyng around, they sang with the sound of claryons, the song of Saincte Baldwin, which being done, the manne on the top threwe with greete myght his anlace into the see, and the claryons sounded an auntient charge and forlyn: then they sang again the song of Saincte Warburgh, and proceeded up Chryst's Hill to the Cross, where a Latin sermon was preeched by Ralph de Blundeville. And wyth the sound of claryon

theie againe went to the brydge and there dined spendyng the rest of the daie in sports and plaies, the freeres of Saincte Augustin doeyng the plaie of the knyghtes of Bristowe, makyng a great fire on Kynwulph Hill."

King Henry III. by a charter, dated at Woodstock, in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, A. D. 1246, confirmed the charter of King John to the burgesses of Bristol; and he granted them, as an additional privilege, that they should not be molested by any of his wardens of the forest for venison found within the walls of the town. This grant, however, seems to have been rather a matter of courtesy than utility; but it might be considered valuable in an age when the chace was one of the principal amusements of both sovereign and people. About this period stones were set up to mark the boundaries of the corporation.

In the year 1253, King Henry bestowed upon Prince Edward, his son, a grant of Ireland, with the earldom of Chester, the town and castle of Bristol, and all his dominions on the Continent. The king, in consequence of his exactions of property from the inhabitants of London, and other cities, became very unpopular; he also extended his rapacity to the Welch, whom he considered as his own subjects, and compelled to pay tribute; but they soon became impatient, and had recourse to arms, indemnifying themselves by plundering the defenceless English who inhabited the borders. The tyrannic conduct of Henry excited the resentment of the barons, who were indignant at seeing the most considerable posts enjoyed by foreigners. "This," says a candid historian,* "is usually the motive which stirs up the zeal of great men; this is what makes them such mighty sticklers for the good of the public. If their own private interest was not joined to that of the kingdom, in vain would it be expected that the nobles would expose their lives and fortunes in defence of the liberties of an injured people." Among other calamities, the people were afflicted with a dreadful

* Rapin.

famine in the year 1256. Provisions were so scarce at Bristol, that wheat was sold for the exorbitant price of sixteen shillings a bushel; and many of the common people devoured the carcases of dogs.

Before King Henry provoked the barons to open hostilities, he summoned a parliament to meet at Oxford; and apprehensive that the malecontents would make preparations which he could not counteract, he gave them a positive promise that he would join with them in redressing all abuses. On the day appointed, the barons, attended by all that owed them military service, came armed to Oxford. Twenty-four commissioners were elected, twelve of whom were chosen by the king, and twelve by the barons; and Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, was chosen president. These commissioners drew up six articles,* to which the parliament reserved a power to add such others as should be deemed necessary for the good of the state.

King Henry, thus deprived of his prerogatives, was obliged to submit to every thing the governors were pleased to prescribe to him; but Prince Edward was averse to the barons. The prince had raised some foreign troops, under pretence

* The articles were as follows, and afford a memorable proof of the lordly independence and public spirit of the barons of that age.

" I. That the king should confirm the *Great Charter*, which he had sworn so many times to observe, without any effect.

" II. That the office of chief justiciary should be given to a person of fit capacity and integrity, that would do justice as well to the poor as the rich, without distinction.

" III. That the chancellor, treasurer, justices, and other officers and public ministers, should be chosen by the four and twenty.

" IV. That the custody of the king's castles, and of all strong holds, should be left to the care of the four and twenty, who should entrust them to such as were well affected to the state.

" V. That it should be death for any person, of what degree or order whatsoever, to oppose, directly or indirectly, what should be enacted by the four and twenty.

" VI. That the parliament should meet at least once a year, to make such statutes as should be judged necessary for the welfare of the kingdom."

of employing them against the Welch, who continued to make predatory incursions on the English side of the Severn, and even extended their depredations to the vicinity of Bristol. But Edward's principal motive for assembling troops, was to oppose the barons. Being destitute of money to pay his army, he went to London, and led his armed partisans to the new Temple, which he plundered of ten thousand pounds, which the citizens had deposited in the treasury of the templars. This outrage excited the clamour of the sufferers, but the prince caused the money to be conveyed to Windsor Castle, where he had placed a strong garrison.

A civil war ensued in 1263. King Henry continued confined in the Tower of London, while the barons made themselves masters of Gloucester, Hereford, Bridgnorth, Worcester, and Tewkesbury. Meanwhile Prince Edward was not inactive. He thought it expedient to lay in provisions and military stores, for the use of his garrison in Bristol Castle. On his arrival in Bristol, he issued orders to the inhabitants to furnish the requisite stores at their own expence; but the minds of the people being already irritated against his father, on account of his former exactions, they not only refused compliance, but compelled the prince to retire hastily to his fortress, which they immediately besieged. In this situation, convinced that he could not hold out long, and unwilling to exasperate the populace, he sent for the Bishop of Worcester, who then happened to be in Bristol. During the interview he declared to the prelate, that his intention was to espouse the party of the barons, but he wanted first to try whether he could persuade his father to grant them satisfaction without coming to extremities. This apparently pacific disposition induced the bishop to interfere in the prince's behalf with the besiegers. He represented to them that it was injurious to the peace of the nation to detain the prince at such a juncture, and promised to accompany him to London, for the purpose of mediation. The blockade was immediately raised; Prince Edward passed in safety through a crowd of the armed citizens, who an hour before were in open hostility, and, accompanied by the bishop, set out for London. When the travellers arrived at Egham, however, Prince Edward

set spurs to his horse, and rode full speed to the castle of Windsor; while the bishop, exasperated at his equivocation, proceeded to the metropolis, and complained to the barons, who resolved to besiege the castle immediately.

Prince Edward, finding Windsor Castle unprovided for a siege, resolved to amuse the barons by a negotiation, and for that purpose he went to meet the Earl of Leicester, who was advancing with his army towards Windsor. He met that general at Kingston-upon-Thames; but not being able to bring the object of dispute to an amicable termination, the prince was seized by the advice of the Bishop of Worcester, as he was preparing to return to the fortress.*

Prince Edward was afterwards liberated, and during the contest between the king and the barons, distinguished himself by his bravery, particularly at the battle of Evesham, in the year 1265, where he not only gained a complete victory, but had the satisfaction to set the king his father at liberty, who had been a captive fourteen months.† This victory obtained over the barons, was fatal to their power, and the system of feudal government, which had prevailed in England from the time of the conquest. Soon after the battle of Evesham, the victorious Prince Edward besieged and took Bristol Castle, which was then garrisoned by the partisans of the barons. He afterwards fined the inhabitants of Bristol one thousand pounds, as a punishment for their former revolt.

In the year 1272 King Henry died, and his eldest son, Prince Edward, was unanimously chosen by the barons as his successor. Edward was then absent on the Continent; but on his return to England in 1274, he was crowned, and immediately after his coronation, he appointed commissioners to go through the counties, and examine into and punish the misdemeanors of those magistrates who had abused their authority by acts of oppression.

* Mathew of Westminster.

† Rapin.

King Edward, who, during the civil war had suffered many injuries from Llewellyn Prince of Wales, now resolved to prevent him from doing any future mischief. While he was making preparations to invade Wales, four ships belonging to the port of Bristol captured a vessel near the island of Scilly, on board of which was one of the daughters of the late Earl of Leicester, who was contracted to Llewellyn. The prize was particularly acceptable to the King, who thus deprived an enemy of his expected bride, and held in captivity the daughter of his once formidable opponent. The prince demanded his bride, but experienced the mortification of a stern refusal; nothing therefore remained but an appeal to the sword. In the course of the summer of 1277, Edward conquered Wales, and compelled the haughty Llewellyn to submit to a treaty, by which he was obliged to pay fifty thousand pounds, and hold the isle of Anglesey of the crown of England, under the annual tribute of one thousand marks. At the conclusion of the treaty, the king restored the lady to whom Llewellyn was contracted, and did him the honour to assist at his nuptials.

In the year 1285 King Edward came from Wales to Bristol, about the middle of December, and restored to the citizens their charter, which they had forfeited by encroaching upon the rights of the constable of the castle. He also kept his court in this city, and solemnized the festival of Christmas here. During his stay, he held a private council, but no general parliament; and having established his court of chancery in this city, he went with his family to London.

Among other improvements in Bristol, and its vicinity, the parish church of St. Mary Redcliff was founded in the year 1292, by Simon de Burton, an opulent inhabitant, who was afterwards chosen mayor six times. He also erected an alms-house in the Long Row, called Burton's Alms-house, but did not live to finish the building of the church, which was afterwards continued by William Cannings, a rich merchant.

In the year 1305 the king took a tallage of all the cities, boroughs, and towns in England; and on this occasion the burgesses of Bristol paid four hundred pounds into the royal treasury.

Soon after the accession of King Edward II. Gaveston, his favourite, became so unpopular, that the parliament petitioned the king to banish him. Edward consented with great reluctance, and having appointed Gaveston governor of Ireland, he accompanied him to Bristol on his way to that kingdom. The comparative value of money will appear by the prices fixed by royal authority, to the following articles, sold in the markets of this city, in the year 1311. The best corn-fed ox, twenty-four shillings; grass-fed, sixteen shillings; a fat stall-fed cow, twelve shillings; grass-fed, ten shillings; a fat sheep, twenty pence; a shorn sheep, fourteen pence: a fat hog, two years old, three shillings and four pence; a goose, two pence halfpenny; a capon, two pence; a hen, one penny; four pigeons, one penny; and two dozen of eggs, one penny. Such a regulation was certainly arbitrary, and could be attended with no beneficial effect. Indeed at this early period, the necessaries of life were subject to such frequent variations in price, as sufficiently prove the imperfect state of agriculture.

Many concomitant circumstances prevented the industrious exertions of the people. The petty warfare of neighbouring barons; the frequent depredations of robbers, who issued from the forests with the ferocity of wild beasts, and plundered the defenceless villagers; the imperfect administration of the laws, in consequence of the unsettled state of the government, and the frequency of civil wars, in which the young men of the country were sacrificed to the ambition of competitors for regal power, at once dispirited the agriculturist and the manufacturer. At the present happy period, when we are protected in our liberties by established laws, we can scarcely conceive the miserable state of the common people during the feudal system.

CHAPTER THE FOURTH.

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CHAPTER THE FOURTH.



DURING the short and calamitous reign of Edward II. Bristol was the scene of several important political events. The king, by his injudicious partiality for particular favourites, exasperated the barons; nay, the affection of his queen, Isabella, became alienated. His inglorious and unsuccessful war against the Scots served to render Edward still more unpopular; and the evils of the state were aggravated by a dearth and famine, which prevailed throughout England in 1316, and was so dreadful that the people were ready to devour one another. Even in the west of England, a tract remarkable for fertility, the famine was so intolerable, that we are told “the prisoners in the prison of Bristol did pluck and tear those that were newly brought in, and devoured them half alive.”* A prohibition was issued against brewing any sort of beer, upon pain of death; but the ravages of famine were succeeded by those of disease, and an epidemic dysentery was so fatal, that the living were scarcely sufficient to bury the dead.

But even those dreadful national visitations seem to have had no beneficial influence upon the moral conduct of King Edward. His favourite Gaveston,

* M.S. Annals of Bristol.

who in 1312 sought refuge in Scarborough Castle from the vengeance of the confederated barons, had been seized by them and put to death, without even the formality of a trial; but his place at court was soon afterwards occupied by Hugh Spencer, the king's high chamberlain, who with his father, the Earl of Winchester, by adulation obtained an ascendancy over their weak sovereign. The mind of Edward resembled one of the plants known by the name of creepers, which require support; left to himself, he was irresolute and pusillanimous, a sovereign of all others the most inadequate to govern this nation. Queen Isabella, a woman of an imperious mind, was disgusted with the imbecility of her royal consort; and having obtained permission from him to pay a visit to her brother, Charles King of France, she set sail for her native country, accompanied by her son, Prince Edward. The king had consented to her voyage at the suggestion of the Nuncio, who pretended that her influence with her brother would promote a reconciliation between that sovereign and Edward, who were then making preparations for war. At the court of Paris the infamous Mortimer, who had made his escape from England, is supposed to have renewed his criminal intercourse with Queen Isabella.

During her residence at the court of France, the Queen of England entered into a project to dethrone her husband, and place Prince Edward upon the throne. Intimation of this conspiracy having been communicated to King Edward, he declared war against France in the year 1326; but the tyrannical conduct of the two Spencers, his favourites, increased the popular odium to such a degree against the unhappy sovereign, that very few troops rallied round his standard. In the mean time, Isabella's partisans were active in fomenting the discontents of the people, and preparing them for open rebellion. On the 22d of September, 1326, the queen invaded England, with an army of three thousand men, commanded by John de Hainault, who was permitted, as a particular honour, to style himself the knight of his royal mistress, and wear her favours. This hostile army landed in Suffolk, where the queen's

standards were soon joined by a numerous army raised by the enemies of the Spencers.

At this juncture the unfortunate Edward was entirely deserted by his subjects, and retired to the west of England, accompanied by the Spencers, and a few adherents. On his arrival in Bristol, he was received by the inhabitants with their characteristic loyalty ; but finding that he was unable to raise a sufficient army to meet his enemies in the field, he rashly resolved to abandon his country, and seek an asylum in Ireland. With this intention, he left Hugh Spencer, the elder, Earl of Winchester, with a small garrison to defend the city of Bristol, and embarked from this port for Ireland, attended by a few faithful adherents. But the king was driven back by contrary winds, on the coast of Wales, and compelled to seek refuge in the abbey of Neath. Meanwhile Queen Isabella proceeded by a rapid march, at the head of a well-appointed army, in pursuit of the king.

During the progress of her troops, they committed several depredations on the property of the inhabitants of the tract over which they marched. The Earl of Hainault's followers, who composed part of her army, actually carried away in carts to Bristol all the wheat and oats belonging to the inhabitants of Clingre Hamlet, in Berkeley Hundred, Gloucestershire.* The queen's army besieged Bristol with such vigour, that at the expiration of three days, Spencer was obliged to make an unconditional surrender of the city and castle. The vengeful queen had now an opportunity of punishing the Earl of Winchester for his former presumption. He was ninety years of age, but that consideration did not prevent the revenge of a vindictive female, who gave orders that he should be gibbeted in complete armour. After hanging two days, his body was by her directions taken down, cut in pieces, and given to the dogs, and his

* Smythe's Lives, p. 842.

head exposed on the top of a pole at Winchester. Such was the relentless vengeance of this cruel and adulterous woman.

Queen Isabella continued some days at Bristol, where she issued a proclamation by which the king was summoned to reassume the reins of government, in conformity to the advice of his barons; but as the sovereign did not appear, Prince Edward was declared regent during his father's absence. The younger Spencer was proclaimed a traitor, and a reward of two thousand pounds offered by the queen for his apprehension, in consequence of which he was soon afterwards discovered with the king, at Neath Abbey, where they were both made prisoners by Henry of Lancaster. The royal captive and his favourite were conducted to Monmouth Castle till farther orders; and at a council summoned by Isabella, it was resolved that the Bishop of Hereford should be sent to demand the great seal of the king, that the queen might thus be legally authorised to convene a parliament. But the impatience of this implacable woman to be revenged of her enemies, would not permit her to await the decision of parliament; she hastened to Hereford, where she caused Spencer to be tried, and executed on a gibbet fifty feet high. Three adherents and ministers of the king were likewise sacrificed to the popular hatred.

At the meeting of parliament in 1327, the king was deposed by an unanimous vote, and Prince Edward chosen his successor. Young Edward was accordingly proclaimed king in Westminster Hall. When the news of this rigorous sentence of the parliament against an unfortunate sovereign was communicated to Isabella, that dissembling woman affected to be grieved, and shed tears; the prince, who was then in the fifteenth year of his age, was so much affected on the occasion, that with the tenderness and generosity of a great mind, he solemnly vowed not to accept the crown during his father's life, without his consent. A deputation was therefore sent to Kenelworth Castle, where the deposed sovereign was then confined, to receive his resignation.

The deputation consisted of three bishops, two earls, two barons, two abbots, and Judge Trussel, who was nominated special proxy for the people. When the deputies were introduced to the king, he was dressed in mourning; and an interview with his formidable enemies so completely overpowered his feelings, that he fainted. On his recovery, he was informed of the purport of their visit, and formally resigned the crown, sceptre, and other ensigns of royalty, into their hands. Trussell then renounced his allegiance in the name of the people, in the following words. “ I William Trussell, of the parliament and of the whole English nation procurator, do declare in their name, and by their authority, that I revoke and retract the homage which I did you, and from this time forward do deprive you of royal power, and protest never more to obey you as my king.”* The high steward then broke his staff, and declared that all the king’s officers were discharged from his service. Such were the ceremonies which attended the deposition of the unfortunate Edward II. in the forty-third year of his age, and twentieth of his reign.

On the return of the commissioners from Kenelworth Castle, Prince Edward was proclaimed a second time, under the name of Edward III. and on Candlemas Day, having previously received the order of knighthood, by the hands of the Earl of Lancaster, he was crowned at Westminster by the Archbishop of Canterbury.†

Immediately after the coronation of the young king, twelve regents were nominated by parliament to superintend the affairs of the state, during his minority. His mother, Queen Isabella, did not venture to oppose their authority, but she conducted herself with such address, that none but her creatures had any share in the government. Her minion, Roger Mortimer, was appointed prime minister, and exercised his authority with all the insolence of an elated favourite, to the great disgust of the regents; but such was the influence of the

* Polychron, l. 7. c. 45.

† Speed, p. 596.

queen with the parliament, that she procured a grant of a dowry, which required the appropriation of two-thirds of the revenue of the crown to her use.

Soon after the coronation of Edward III. the tranquillity of England was disturbed by an incursion of the Scots, who, to the number of twenty thousand men, ravaged the English borders. King Edward, who was possessed of prudence uncommon at his time of life, put himself at the head of an army of sixty thousand men, and marched against the invaders, who retreated on his approach, and retired to Scotland. The king then disbanded his army.

During these events, the deposed king continued in close confinement at Kenelworth Castle, where he was treated in a very unbecoming manner. One hundred marks a month were granted by parliament for his maintenance; but although this sum was more than enough for his expenditure, his life was rendered miserable by the inexorable cruelty of his queen, who would not permit him to take the least diversion. He wrote to her from time to time; and in order to deceive the public, with respect to the real situation of the royal captive, she not only answered his letters, but sent him presents of linen, and other articles of dress, to induce the people to believe that she was actuated by compassion for her unfortunate husband.

At length, Henry of Lancaster, who had the custody of the deposed king, daily relented, and carried his compassion so far, that he expressed an inclination to aid him in his escape from confinement. The earl, who was naturally resolute and generous, was also incited to befriend his prisoner in consequence of the indignation which he felt at the irregular behaviour of the queen, and the odious arrogance of her favourite, Mortimer. Isabella was alarmed at some sentiments which escaped the Earl of Lancaster, and, apprehensive of the restoration of her husband, she secretly concerted a plan with Mortimer for the destruction of the ill-fated Edward. Accordingly, they entrusted the captive to two knights, who

were their creatures, with orders to remove him from Kenelworth to Berkeley Castle. He was first carried to Corfe Castle, and thence to the castle of Bristol, where he continued for some time. At length it was discovered that some of the citizens of Bristol had formed a design to liberate the royal captive, and assist him in making his escape beyond sea ; and he was, for greater security, removed to Berkeley Castle.

During his journey from Bristol to Berkeley, his brutal conductors made him suffer the greatest indignities. It is even asserted that they caused him to be shaved in the open fields with cold water taken from a ditch. It appears to have been the intention of Isabella, and the infamous Mortimer, to have shortened his life by those reiterated fatigues and vexations ; but the excellence of his constitution having frustrated this design, they resolved to proceed by a shorter method. For this purpose, it is said that Adam Orlerton, Bishop of Hereford, one of the queen's ministers, sent orders for the assassination of the captive, in a letter written in Latin, in which, according to the different punctuation, the keepers to whom it was addressed were commanded to murder Edward, or to refrain from that crime. The regicides well knew how to construe the meaning of this equivocal mandate, and hastening to his apartment, they put him to death, by forcing a red hot iron into his bowels. The cries of the unhappy sufferer were heard at a distance from the castle, and the murderers, in order to conceal this execrable deed, sent for some of the inhabitants of Bristol and Gloucester, who examining the body, and finding no signs of violence, gave their verdict that he died a natural death. This account, attested by such respectable witnesses, was circulated throughout the kingdom, to prevent any suspicion of the murder. The assassination of the deposed king was committed on the 21st of September, 1327;* his body was interred in the Abbey-Church at Gloucester, without any funeral pomp ; but the king his son afterwards ordered a magnificent tomb to be erected to his memory, in that cathedral.

* Burns's History of Edward III.

The murderers of Edward II. did not long enjoy their triumph over their unfortunate victim. In the year 1328, on the demise of Charles the Fair, King of France, Philip of Valois, cousin-german to the king, assumed the crown; and in April, 1329, summoned Edward III. of England to do homage for Guienne and Ponthieu. Edward reluctantly complied, and soon after his return from France, he began to be suspicious of his mother's conduct, in consequence of the secret intimations of his friends. The king was reminded of the sudden death of his father,—the decapitation of the Earl of Kent his uncle, in consequence of the enmity of Isabella, and her favourite;—and the extravagant dowry of the queen, which she profusely expended for the gratification of Mortimer, whose pride since his elevation to the earldom of March, was intolerable. Struck with abhorrence at their wickedness, the king resolved to bring his mother, and her minion, to condign punishment; and to accomplish his design, pitched upon the time parliament was to meet at Nottingham. On the arrival of Isabella, and her court, at that town, she made the castle her residence, where she lived in the most sumptuous style with the Earl of March, who was attended by a train of one hundred and eighty knights.

King Edward was content with more humble accommodations; he came to Nottingham attended by a small retinue of faithful adherents, and lodged in the town. Soon after his arrival, the king surprized and made captive the Earl of March, who lived with his royal paramour in the utmost magnificence, and was probably unsuspecting of the approaching hour of retributive justice. The circumstances of the seizure of Mortimer are truly curious, as they are detailed by an ancient annalist. “ There was a parliament holden at Nottingham, where Roger Mortimer was in such glorie and honour, that it was without all comparison. No man durst name him anie other than Earle of March: a greater rout of men waited at his heeles, than on the kinge's person: he would suffer the kinge to rise to him, and would walke with the kinge equally, step by step, and cheeke by cheeke, never preferring the kinge, but would goe foremost himself with his officers. Which things troubled much the kinge's friends, to

wit, William Mentacute, and others, who for the safegarde of the kinge, sware themselves to be true to his person, and drew unto them Robert de Holland, who had of long time beene keeper of the castle, to whom all secret corners of the same were knowne. There upon a certain night, the kinge lying without the castle, both he and his friends were brought by torch-light through a secret way under ground, beginning far off from the sayde castle, till they came even to the queene's chamber, which they by chance found open: they therefore being armed with naked swords in their hands, went forwards, leaving the kinge, also armed, without the doore of the chamber, least that his mother should espie him: they which entered in slew immediately two of the attendants. From thence they went towarde the queene mother, whom they found with the Earle of March readie to have gone to bedde: and having taken the sayde earle, they ledde him out into the hall, after whom the queene followed, crying, '*Bel filz, bel filz, ayes pitie de gentil Mortimer:*' 'Good sonne, good sonne, take pittie upon gentle Mortimer;' for she suspected that her sonne was there, though she saw him not."* But notwithstanding the entreaties of an abandoned woman, the gallant Mortimer was carried out of the castle the same way the king came in, and immediately sent under a strong guard to the Tower of London.

After this event the king dissolved the parliament, which he considered too much devoted to the interests of his mother and the Earl of March, and convened another by proclamation. In his speech to the new parliament, the king complained, in general terms, of the conduct of the queen and Mortimer, —declared that it was his intention, with the concurrence of his people, to assume the reins of government, although yet in his minority, and that he would exert himself to the utmost, to correct abuses in the administration of public affairs. To this proposal the parliament readily consented, and the first use the king made of his emancipation from the thralldom of his mother, was the reduction of

* -Stow's Annals, 1329.

her dowry to one hundred pounds a year. He also confined her in the castle of Rising, in Norfolk; and thus she was most equitably doomed to suffer imprisonment for the rest of her life. The partner of her crimes, the fallen Mortimer, was impeached by the parliament, and condemned to be executed at Tyburn, in the most ignominious manner.

King Edward having thus taken upon himself the administration of public affairs, the people looked forward with lively expectation to the glory and prosperity which afterwards distinguished his reign. The king had been married in the year 1327, to Phillipa of Hainault; and in 1331, the birth of a son confirmed his happiness. The prince was called Edward, afterwards distinguished by the name of the Black Prince, a name renowned in the annals of chivalry.

The ambition of Edward now prompted him to invade Scotland, and after reiterated victories, he subjugated that kingdom. He afterwards turned his thoughts to the conquest of France; and having strengthened his interest on the Continent, by alliances with several princes, he in the year 1337 raised one of the finest armies that had ever been seen in England. As he had offered his protection to the Flemings, who were apprehensive of being oppressed by Philip King of France, he sent part of his troops to their assistance. On the arrival of the English forces, they defeated the army of the Earl of Flanders, who had espoused the cause of Philip, and in a short time compelled his adherents to submit.

During his military preparations, King Edward summoned a parliament, the principal business of which was to make laws for the encouragement and regulation of the woollen manufacture in England. A general intercourse now existed between this country and the maritime states of Europe, particularly Genoa, Spain, France, Flanders, and Norway. Of this trade, Bristol and Exeter possessed a very considerable proportion; but when Edward III. ascended

the throne, our principal exports consisted of grain, tin, and wool. In the year 1332, the king granted a charter to the burgesses of Bristol, confirming the charters of his predecessors, Henry III. Edward II. and King John. He also confirmed the municipal laws digested by the magistracy for the government of the town.

The inhabitants of Bristol also received several marks of royal favour from this prince, who was principally instrumental in the establishment of a profitable manufacture among them. His genius was indeed alike calculated to promote the useful arts among his people, or to shine in the field. He had observed during his journies on the Continent, the successful industry of the French and Flemish manufacturers of woollen cloth, and therefore resolved to re-establish that beneficial trade in his native country. But as the art of manufacturing woollen cloths was but imperfectly known in England, he thought it expedient to encourage skilful workmen from Flanders, for the instruction of his English subjects. The circumstances of this important event are detailed in a very entertaining manner, by an authentic historian.

“ The king and state began now to grow sensible of the great gain the Netherlands got by our English wooll, in memory whereof the Duke of Burgundy, not long after, instituted the order of the Golden Fleece, wherein indeed the fleece was our's, the golden their's, so vast their emolument by the trade of clothing. Our king* therefore resolved, if possible, to reduce the trade to his own country, who as yet were ignorant of that art, as knowing no more what to do with their wool than the sheep that weare it, as to any artificial and curious drapery, their best clothes then being no better than freezes, such their coarseness for want of skill in their making. But soon after followed a great alteration, and we shall enlarge ourselves in the manner thereof.

* Edward the Third.

“ The intercourse being great betwixt the English and the Netherlands, (increased of late since King Edward married the daughter of the Earl of Hainault,) unsuspected emissaries were employed by our king with those countries, who wrought themselves into familiarity with such Dutchmen as were absolute masters of their trade, but not masters of themselves, as either journeymen or apprentices. These bemoaned the slavishnesse of these poore servants, whom their masters used rather like Heathens than Christians, yea, rather like horses than men ; early up and late in bed, and all day hard work, and harder fare (a few herrings and mouldy cheese) and all to enrich the churles their masters, without any profit unto themselves.

“ But oh ! how happy should they be if they would but come over into England, bringing their mystery with them, which would provide their welcome in all places. Here they should feed on fat beef and mutton, till nothing but their fulnesse should stint their stomachs ; yea, they should feed on the labour of their own hands, enjoying a proportionable profit of their pains to themselves : their beds should be good, and their bed-fellows better, seeing the richest yeomen in England would not disdain to marry their daughters unto them ; and such the English beauties, that the most curious foreigners could not but commend them.

“ Liberty is a lesson quickly conned by heart, men having a principle within themselves to prompt them in case they forget it. Perswaded with the premises, many Dutch servants leave their masters, and make over for England. Their departure thence (being pickt here and there) made no sensible vacuity, but their meeting here altogether amounted to a considerable fulness. With themselves they brought over their trade and their tools, namely, such which could not (as yet) be so conveniently made in England.

“ Happy the yeoman’s house, into which one of these Dutchmen did enter, bringing industry and wealth along with them ;—such who came in strangers

within doors, soon after went out bridegrooms, and returned sons-in-law, having married the daughters of their landlords, who first entertained them ; yea, those yeomen in whose houses they harboured, soon proceeded gentlemen, gaining great estates to themselves, arms and worship to their estates.

“ The king having gotten this treasury of foreigners, thought not fit to continue them all in one place, lest on discontent they might embrace a general resolution to return, but bestowed them thorow all parts of the land, that clothing thereby might be better dispersed. This new generation of Dutch was now sprinkled every where, so that England (in relation I mean to her own counties) may bespeak these inmates in the language of the poet,

‘ Quæ regis in terris vestri non plena laboris ;’

though generally (when left to their own choice) they preferred a maritime habitation.

EAST.

- 1 Norfolk, Norwich, fustians.
- 2 Suffolk, Sydbury, bayes.
- 3 Essex, Colchester, sayes and surges.
- 4 Kent, Kentish broadcloths.

WEST.

- 1 Devonshire, kersies.
- 2 Gloucestershire, cloth.
- 3 Worcestershire, ditto.
- 4 Wales, Welch frizes.

NORTH.

- 1 Westmoreland, Kentish cloth.
- 2 Lancashire, Manchester cotton.
- 3 Yorkshire, Halifax clothes.
- 4

SOUTH.

- 1 Somersetshire, Taunton serges.
- 2 Hampshire, cloth.
- 3 Berkshire, ditto.
- 4 Sussex, ditto.

“ I am informed that a prime Dutch clothmaker in Gloucestershire, had the sirname of Web given him by King Edward there ; a family still famous for their manufacture. Observe we here, that mid-England, Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, and Cambridge, having most of wool, have least of clothing therein.

“ Here the Dutchmen found fuller’s earth, a precious treasure, whereof England hath (if not more) better than all Christendom besides ; a great

commodity of the quorum towards making good cloth ; so that nature may seem to point out our land for the staple of drapery, if the idlenesse of her inhabitants be not the only hinderance thereof. This fuller's earth is clean, contrary to our jesuites, who are needlesse drugges, yet still staying here, though daily commanded to depart, whilst fuller's earth, a precious ware, is daily scowred hence, though by law forbidden to be transported.

“ And now was the English wool improved to the highest profit, passing through so many hands, every one having a fleece of the fleece, *sorters, kembers, carders, spinsters, weavers, fullers, diers, pressers, packers* ; and these manufactures have been heightened to a higher perfection since the cruelty of the Duke of Alva drove over more Dutch into England. But enough of this subject, which let none condemn for a deviation from Church History ; first, because it could not grieve me to goe a little out of the way, if the way be good, as this digression is for the credit and profit of our country ; secondly, it reductively belongeth to the Church History, seeing many poore people both young and old, formerly charging the parishes, were hereby enabled to maintain themselves.”*

The woollen manufacture thus established under the royal patronage, became a productive source of national industry and wealth ; but it was pursued with peculiar success in the west of England, where it still continues to be brought to the highest state of perfection. Not only the inland, but the maritime towns shared this lucrative trade ; Bristol, from its situation, was peculiarly favourable to the manufacturer, by affording him a ready market for his goods ; and it is a singular fact, that a particular fabric of woollen cloth owes its name to a native of this city. In the year 1340, soon after the revival of the trade in England, a citizen of Bristol, named Thomas Blanket, and several other inhabitants of this city, set up looms in their own houses, for weaving those woollen cloths from him called blankets.†

* Fuller's Church History, p. 110, 111, 112.

† Bark's Chronicle.

The progress of King Edward on the Continent, which so essentially contributed to the establishment of the woollen, and various other manufactures, and a general commercial intercourse with France, and its dependencies, was also conducive to the glory of England. In the spring of the year 1339, he sailed from England with a fleet of one hundred and fifty ships of war, with a well-appointed army on board, and after a prosperous voyage, landed at Antwerp, to form a junction with his continental allies. But although his ambassadors had concluded alliances in his name, with several princes, yet it required much time and exertion to concentrate their forces. The commencement of the campaign being thus retarded for some months, Edward went to Cologne, where he held a conference with the emperor; and was nominated vicar of the empire in the most public manner, in the market-place of that city, in the presence of all the principal nobility and clergy of Germany. King Edward afterwards went to Ghent, where he granted the cities of Flanders, which had entered into the league, several privileges, for the facilitation of their trade with England. Thus, like an enlightened statesman, the king employed his time and influence alternately, in promoting the commerce, and exalting the glory of his country.

In the month of September, King Edward advanced, at the head of forty thousand men, to Cambray, where he was informed that Philip was advancing with a formidable army to oppose his progress. He immediately passed the river Scheld with his army, and a herald arrived with a challenge from his competitor, on condition that the plain should be sufficiently extensive for the operations of the two armies. Edward, with his characteristic decision, immediately accepted the challenge, and left it to Philip to appoint the time and place. But while both armies were making preparations for this momentous contest, Philip received a letter from Robert King of Naples, a famous astrologer of that age, who foretold his defeat, and disheartened him so much, that he retired with precipitation.

Edward being thus disappointed in his expectation of conquest, returned with his army to Flanders, where he assumed the title of King of France, and quartered the arms of England with those of that kingdom, with the motto, *Dieu et mon droit*. But his claim to the crown of France, in consequence of his mother being sister to the late king, who died without issue, was condemned by the salique law. On his return to England in February, 1340, he summoned a parliament, which granted him a considerable subsidy, obtained from him the confirmation of Magna Charta, and his promise that the title of King of France, which he used in the public acts, should have no influence on the constitution of England.

The king had indeed sufficiently demonstrated his zeal for the prosperity of England, by the encouragement which he held forth for the promotion of manufactures and commerce; and the paucity of records, respecting the state of agriculture and the useful arts, at this period, is to be ascribed to the general neglect of letters which prevailed throughout Europe. Heroism was then the chief passport to distinction, and literature was neglected, nay despised by the warriors of the age. The art of killing was studied with more success than the art of healing; and while a valiant knight, armed cap-a-pee, was eager to destroy, the care of the wounded and sick was commonly left to women.

During the reign of Henry II. English manufactures had been encouraged, and even learning held in some estimation; but national prosperity suffered a severe depression in the turbulent reign of Stephen. The revival of commerce in the time of Henry III. and Edward I. has already been mentioned, and the increasing trade of Bristol demonstrated, by an account of the improvements made in the town and harbour during the thirteenth century. But the real state of foreign and domestic traffick in this sea-port, at that time, is now unknown; and it doubtless suffered much injury and interruption from the civil war in the time of Edward II. It was reserved for the genius of his son

and successor, to exalt the military, naval, and commercial glory of the English nation, to a degree of enviable superiority which has continued with little interruption to the present day.

In the year 1340, King Edward made great preparations for another expedition against France; and having increased his fleet to three hundred ships of war, and augmented his army, he embarked his troops about midsummer, and steered for Flanders, where a powerful French fleet, consisting of four hundred sail, waited to oppose him at Sluys. Edward heard this intelligence with joy, and resolved to fight his way through the enemy's fleet, notwithstanding its superiority. He met the French fleet on the coast of Flanders, and began the engagement with a vigour that presaged victory. After a conflict of eleven hours, the French were totally defeated, and their whole fleet destroyed, or taken, except thirty ships which escaped. This memorable engagement was the first in which the English distinguished themselves by their naval superiority over the French, and the first in which the King of England commanded his fleet in person. The victorious Edward afterwards landed his troops without opposition, and, joined by the forces of his allies, he marched to besiege Tournay, with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men. His competitor, King Philip, advanced with a much stronger army to the relief of the city; but the two rivals were prevented from coming to a general engagement, by the mediation of Joanna de Valois, mother-in-law to King Edward, and sister to King Philip. By her persuasions they consented to sign a truce of nine months, which was afterwards prolonged two years, by the interference of the pope.

Edward returned to England much mortified at the unsuccessful termination of the campaign, and looked forward with eager anticipation to the recommencement of hostilities. The renewal of a war with Scotland engaged his attention during 1341, and the following year, which terminated in a truce of two years. In the parliament convened in 1343, the king created Edward, his

eldest son, Prince of Wales, and invested him with that principality by an open crown on his head, and a ring on his finger. The same year he ordered a magnificent tournament to be held at Windsor, to which all knights, both native and foreign, were invited, and entertained with the utmost politeness and liberality.

Bristol was at this time a sea-port of great and increasing opulence and importance, and, next to London, distinguished for the alacrity with which its inhabitants contributed to the exigencies of the state. To its shipping and seamen the victorious Edward was, in a great measure, indebted for the defeat and destruction of the French fleet; and the liberal immunities which that prince afterwards conferred on the inhabitants, proved that he was not forgetful of their public services. Its peculiar advantages, both as a maritime town, and a place where the woollen manufacture was successfully pursued, induced several foreign individuals to settle here; but with this increase of population and opulence, there was also a consequent corruption of public morals. For the better regulation of the community, the mayor, and forty-eight of the principal inhabitants, in the year 1345 employed William de Colford,* the recorder, to transcribe the ordinances and customs of the town in a regular series, with such additional bye-laws as were rendered expedient by the state of society. Among the new regulations it was ordered that no person afflicted with the leprosy should be permitted to reside within the liberties of the town, nor any harlot to remain within its walls. That no prostitute should appear in the streets, or even within the bars of St. James's Priory, without having their head covered; and that if such women were found residing in Bristol, the doors and windows of the house which they inhabited should be taken away by the mayor's officers, or the constable of the ward, and kept till the harlots were removed. Such just severities against incontinence, while they demonstrate the vigilance of the

* This is the first recorder mentioned in the annals of Bristol.

municipality for the preservation of decency and morality, forms a striking contrast to the profligacy of modern manners, when chastity is a kind of by-word in the mouths of worthless sensualists.

In 1347, King Edward embarked in that memorable expedition against France, which has been the favourite theme of all English historians, and where, at the battle of Cressy, the Prince of Wales, though only in his sixteenth year, immortalized his name by his valour and magnanimity. It is recorded, that when the king congratulated his son on the victory, the prince fell on his knees, and asked his father's blessing, according to the custom of the English at that period. Such was the inconsistent morality of chivalry, that the very hands which but a moment before had been employed in the destruction of human beings, were raised with submissive and reverential awe, to implore the parental benediction.

From Cressy, Edward marched to Calais, a town which was strongly fortified, and from its situation opposite the coast of England, was considered by the victor as a desirable acquisition, which would enable him the more readily to land his troops in France.

But the English hero found Calais no easy conquest; he therefore besieged it with vigour, and to prevent supplies from being brought by sea to the garrison, he sent to England for a fleet of seven hundred ships, which completely blockaded the harbour. The different sea-ports of England furnished a number of ships to aid the royal navy on this occasion; and the following is an accurate statement of the shipping and mariners which they supplied.*

* Vide Roll of the fleet of Edward III. at the siege of Calais in 1347, in the Cottonian Library.

	SHIPS.	MARINERS.
London.....	25.....	662
Bristol.....	22.....	608
Weymouth.....	20.....	264
Pool.....	4.....	94
Lime.....	4.....	62
Wareham.....	3.....	59
Seton.....	2.....	25

The near approach made by Bristol to London, both in the number of ships and seamen, at this period, is a sufficient demonstration of its maritime prosperity; and the subsequent immunities conferred on this city by King Edward, afford an honourable memorial of the loyalty of the inhabitants, and the gratitude of their sovereign. It must, however, be a subject of regret, that so few documents are in existence respecting the trade of Bristol, in its early state; for the most entertaining, as well as instructive kind of history, is that of the progress of a community from barbarism and indigence, to wealth, civilization, and aggrandizement.

The garrison of Calais, after a brave resistance during a siege of a year, was compelled at length by famine to open their gates to the conqueror. Edward, in order to secure the future possession of the town, forced all the inhabitants to evacuate it, to make room for an English colony. He afterwards consented to a truce of a year, with his competitor, and returned to England in 1347, in triumph.

On his return, he was received with the congratulations of the people, who admired his brilliant talents, and almost idolized the heroism of his illustrious son, the Black Prince. England now enjoyed tranquillity; an invasion of the Scots, under their King David, in the absence of Edward, had been repelled

by the English, under Queen Phillipa, who defeated the invaders, and made their king captive. At this auspicious epoch, England stood high in the estimation of the civilized world. The important victories achieved by her army and navy, over a nation that had been considered the most powerful in Europe, and in an age when military puissance was considered the highest virtue, commanded the admiration and respect of the other continental states. At the same time, the judicious commercial treaties made by King Edward with the other maritime nations of Europe, contributed essentially to a more intimate intercourse, and the establishment of a beneficial traffick between them and his native country. The manufactures which had been revived in England, under the fostering patronage of this sovereign, continued to increase in a steady and rapid progression, which naturally had a powerful influence on the increase of population, that true source of national wealth and grandeur; the agriculturist, alike secure from foreign depredation and domestic fraud, brought the produce of his farm to a higher degree of perfection, than had hitherto been known in this country; while a ready market for his commodities, particularly grain and wool, crowned his industrious exertions with merited prosperity. In the principal sea-ports and manufacturing towns, especially London and Bristol, the raw materials were manufactured, and exported to distant nations; while the most valuable productions of foreign climes contributed to the gratification and embellishment of civilized society.

But the history of all nations has proved, that the continuance of prosperity is productive of moral evil. The English nation became presumptuous and dissolute; nay, sensuality was so universally prevalent, that we are informed the women, laying aside their modesty, seemed to glory in the loss of their chastity. They frequented the tournaments, dressed like knights, with swords by their sides, and mounted on steeds adorned with costly trappings. The excesses of the men were no less scandalous and corrupt. But their career of dissipation was suddenly interrupted by a terrible visitation.

In 1348, the plague which had afflicted Asia, and part of the continent of Europe, at length reached France. Pursuing its tremendous progress, it passed over into England, where it destroyed more than one half of the population. The people near the sea-coast in Dorsetshire and Devonshire, were first afflicted, in the month of January, and it soon afterwards reached Bristol, where it raged to such a degree, that the living were scarcely able to bury the dead. This terrible visitant began its devastations in the centre of the city, and so destructive was its progress, that the healthful population of Bristol, which at the commencement of the pestilential contagion, consisted of several thousands, was reduced to a few individuals. It is recorded that the city became so desolate, that grass grew several inches high in High-street and Broad-street, then the principal thoroughfare. To add to the misery of the unhappy sufferers, "the Gloucestershire men would not suffer the Bristow men to have any access to them." Thus realizing the afflictive description of a similar calamity, given by the poet.

" ————— Mute the voice of joy,
 " And hush'd the clamour of the busy world.
 " Empty the streets, with uncouth verdure clad;
 " Into the worst of desarts sudden turn'd
 " The cheerful haunt of men: unless escap'd
 " From the doom'd house, where matchless horror reigns,
 " Shut up by barbarous fear, the smitten wretch,
 " With frenzy wild, breaks loose; and, loud to heaven
 " Screaming, the dreadful policy arraigns,
 " Inhuman and unwise. The sullen door,
 " Yet uninfected, on its cautious hinge
 " Fearing to turn, abhors society:
 " Dependants, friends, relations, love himself,
 " Savag'd by woe, forget the tender tie,
 " The sweet engagement of the feeling heart.
 " But vain their selfish care: the circling sky,
 " The wide enliv'ning air is full of fate;
 " And, struck by turns, in solitary pangs

" They fall, unblest, untended, and unmourn'd,

" Thus o'er the prostrate city black Despair

" Extends her raven wing: while, to complete

" The scene of desolation, stretch'd around,

" The grim guards stand, denying all retreat,

" And give the flying wretch a better death."

But human precautions were unavailing ; the pestilence was not to be arrested in its progress, and Gloucester, Oxford, and London, languished beneath its fatal contagion. The common people, alarmed at the approach of death, became penitent, and even the most profligate were terrified into a reformation of manners ; but the pomp, splendour, and gaiety of the court of Edward, suffered no diminution. In April, 1349, when the pestilence raged in its highest violence, he instituted the Order of the Garter, which was celebrated at Windsor with the utmost pageantry and festivity, notwithstanding the calamitous situation of the people in general : a circumstance by no means honourable to the humanity of the sovereign. But in the days of chivalry, knights and persons of distinction only were thought worthy of estimation ; while the laborious classes, not yet fully emancipated from feudal vassalage, were considered as an inferior species by their imperious masters.

When the pestilence subsided, the temporary penitence of the survivors was succeeded by incredible excesses. The inhabitants of the principal towns, being few in number, found in the former possessions of the victims of disease a sudden accession of opulence and superabundance of necessities, which precluded the necessity of industrious effort. Forgetful of the terrible calamity from which they had so recently escaped, they became dissolute, revelled in excess, married and discarded their wives at pleasure, and indulged in idleness. " They persuaded themselves that henceforth they should never need to till the earth, work, build houses, plant vines, or do ought else that appertained unto humane life : having, as they supposed, more store of food and all other necessities

left unto them then they could spende, whilst they shoulde live, and believing likewise that they were nowe secure, the fury of God's justice being past. Whereuppon God sent a great and universall famine; the cattle, for want of men to look to them, wandering about the fields at random, and perishing among hedges and ditches; and vast quantities of corn being lost for want of hands to gather it in."*

The complete establishment of the woollen manufacture in England, appears to have been a favourite object of King Edward III. and in the year 1362, the superiority of the woollen cloth manufactured in Bristol, over the productions of the Flemish looms, induced that prince to order the staple of wool to be transferred from Flanders, and established in this city. From that period the woollen became the staple manufacture of England, and it has proved a rich and productive source of national wealth.

Among the most remarkable improvements in the architecture of Bristol, may be mentioned Redcliff Church. It had been founded in 1292, by Simon de Burton; the building was continued in 1369, by William Cannings, and was finished by his grandson, the celebrated William Cannings, an eminent merchant, in the reign of King Henry VI.

On the 8th of August, 1372, the king rewarded the loyalty of the inhabitants of Bristol, by granting them a charter which conferred peculiar immunities. In this charter the king expressed his willingness to promote the prosperity of the town, as a reward for the attachment and loyalty of the burgesses, and their good service by their ships and otherwise, done in time past. For a fine of six hundred marks paid by the corporation, his majesty granted the town to be separated from Gloucestershire and Somersetshire, and to be

henceforth a county of itself; to have one sheriff out of three returned into chancery, to be chosen by the king, who is to be escheator. That the sheriff shall hold his court the first Monday in every month; and the mayor to hold his court at the customary time. That the mayor, after his election, shall take the municipal oath before his predecessor, in the Guildhall; and it shall not be requisite for the new mayor to be presented before the constable of the castle for his acquiescence, in the nomination of that magistrate; that the mayor and sheriff are to hear and determine the several offences committed within the liberties of the corporation, without the interference of any other magistrate. That the mayor shall have power to enroll deeds of lands, tenements, &c. within the town of Bristol, in the same manner as is practised in chancery, with power to prove bequests of lands, &c. in the said town, and to put the legacies in execution. That the corporation of Bristol shall send two burgesses to parliament as their representatives; and in any case of difficulty, the mayor and sheriff shall choose forty honest men, who together shall be empowered to make bye-laws. and to raise taxes for the necessity or advantage of the town. All disturbers of the public tranquillity to be punishable by the mayor and sheriff. All former liberties and charters are also confirmed by this charter. Witnesses, William Archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and others. Dated at Wodestock, the 8th of August, the forty-seventh of Edward III. The king also granted a commission, empowering twelve men of Gloucestershire, twelve of Somersetshire, and twelve of Bristol, by perambulation to fix by verdict the boundaries of the town, as described in the charter of King John.

This comprehensive charter was a proof of the high estimation in which the king held the loyalty and public services of the inhabitants of Bristol. That the shipping and mariners belonging to this sea-port had materially contributed to the success of his majesty's arms, must be evident from the tenor of the charter; the erection of Bristol into an independent county, was indeed a peculiar demonstration of royal favour; the investiture of the municipal officers with more

extensive powers for its civil government; and the privilege of sending two representatives to the senate of the nation, justifies the assertion, that the population and wealth of this ancient city, must have been very considerable, even at this early period.

As a memorial of gratitude to their beneficent sovereign, the corporation of Bristol, in 1373, erected a new high cross, on the scite of an ancient cross in High-street. It was adorned with rich gothic ornaments; the statues of King John, Henry III. and Edward III. were placed in niches; and the statue of Edward IV. another royal benefactor to the city, was afterwards placed in a vacant niche, in the year 1461.

The death of Edward, the Black Prince, in 1376, to the universal regret of the English nation, was followed by that of King Edward himself, who died at his palace at Sheen, or Richmond, in the year 1377, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and fifty-first of his reign.

During the long reign of this illustrious prince, the people of England made a considerable progress in trade, manufactures, and civilization. Edward was remarkable for all those brilliant qualities that constitute a great character. He was brave, just, and patriotic; a warm friend to merit, a respecter of the laws and liberties of the realm, and a patron of learning. Chaucer, the father of English poetry, was an inmate of his court; and Gower, another English writer of merit, enriched the literature of his country at this auspicious period. But in the reign of Richard II. the successor of his magnanimous grandfather, the nation was again involved in all the evils attendant upon the measures of an arbitrary sovereign. At length Richard, after intolerable exactions and confiscations, was opposed by a confederacy of the barons, who compelled him to banish his favourites.

In the year 1389, St. John's Church, in Bristol, was founded by Mr. Walter Frampton, a rich merchant. This beneficent individual also bequeathed sixty-two tenements to be sold, and the price divided into three parts; one-third to be given to industrious young people on the day of their marriage; one-third to the relief of the poor, and the residue to be laid out in the repair of the high ways.

In 1398 King Richard levied an army for the subjugation of the revolters in Ireland; and having left the regency of the kingdom to the Duke of York, his uncle, he set sail, and on the 31st of May landed at Waterford, marched to Dublin, and obtained several victories over the rebels. During his progress in Ireland, however, a conspiracy was formed against him in England, and the Duke of Hereford, his cousin, whom he had unjustly banished into France the preceding year, having received intelligence that the nation was ripe for a revolt, embarked with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and about eighty armed partisans; and having sailed for some time along the coast of England, he was at length encouraged to land, by the alacrity with which the people took up arms, when informed of his approach. Accordingly, he landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, where he assumed the title of Duke of Lancaster, and published a manifesto, expressive of his having had recourse to arms merely to obtain redress for the injustice with which he had been treated by the king. Multitudes, inflamed with anger against the tyranny of Richard, hastened to the banners of the Duke of Lancaster, whose army in a short time amounted to sixty thousand men. With this formidable host he marched without opposition to London, where he was received in triumph.

In the mean time, the regent having made some ineffectual attempts to raise an army, the Earl of Wiltshire, and the rest of the ministry, abandoned him, and retired to Bristol Castle. But as soon as the Duke of Lancaster had secured the allegiance of the citizens of London, he marched to Bristol,

where the gates were opened to him with joy. He then commanded the castle to be assaulted ; it was resolutely defended by the adherents of the ministry, but after a vigorous siege of four days, the besieged were obliged to surrender at discretion. The popular rage against the Earl of Wiltshire, and his companions, was so violent, that the duke, in order to secure his own popularity, commanded these ministers of an arbitrary sovereign to be sacrificed to the vengeance of the people. Accordingly, to appease the public wrath, the Earl of Wiltshire, Sir John Busby, and Sir Henry Green, were beheaded at the High Cross in Bristol, and soon afterwards the whole kingdom submitted to the Duke of Lancaster, who compelled Richard to resign his crown, and was himself proclaimed, and crowned on the 30th of September, 1399, by the name of Henry IV.



CHAPTER THE FIFTH.

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CHAPTER THE FIFTH.

FROM the accession of Henry IV. in 1399, to the deposition of Henry VI. in 1461, a period of sixty-two years, Bristol appears to have enjoyed the advantages of commerce with little interruption. The trade and manufactures of the kingdom in general continued to prosper, in consequence of the excellent regulations established by Edward III. and his successor, Henry IV. was in some degree actuated by similar patriotism. The first instance of his notice of Bristol, was his confirmation to the church of St. James of the lands of Esseley, the fair of Bristol in Whitsuntide week, and the tythe of several mills, which had formerly been conferred by William Earl of Gloucester.

By a statute enacted in the 4th year of the reign of Henry IV. it was ordained that all ships laden with merchandise, entering the realm, or passing out of the same, should be discharged or laden in some great port, and not in any creek, or small river. And by a proclamation issued in the sixteenth year of the reign of Henry V. all officers were commanded to see this act strictly put in execution. This royal edict was greatly in favour of the principal seaports of England, and soon after it was published, the magistrates of Bristol, jealous of any encroachment on their traffick, presented a petition to

parliament, complaining of the injury to the revenue in consequence of vessels unloading their cargoes at other ports and creeks in the Bristol channel, and at Chepstow, and other places in Wales. King Henry IV. also granted a charter to the mayor and commonalty of Bristol, exempting them from the power and jurisdiction of the admiralty of England, in consideration of their liberality to their sovereign. This charter is to the following purport. "Considering the many notable services which very many merchants, burgesses of our town of Bristol, have done for us, and our famous progenitors, in many ways, with their ships and voyages, at their own great charges and expence; as also for the grateful sense which we have recently found in the mayor and commonalty of the said town, in freely giving us £200. in our necessities, for the more readily expediting certain arduous affairs of our kingdom; and also since many of the said burgesses and merchants have been grievously vexed and disturbed by the lieutenants and other officers of our admiralty of England, to their great loss and inconvenience. We therefore, of our special grace, mere motion, and certain knowledge, have granted for us and our heirs, to the mayor and commonalty, and their heirs, that the said town, &c. shall for ever be free from the jurisdiction, &c. of the said admiralty, &c."

In 1441 William Cannings, mayor for that year, repaired the church of St. Mary Redcliff, which had been built by his grandfather; but in the following year the steeple of that beautiful edifice was demolished by lightning.

King Henry VI. came to Bristol in the year 1446, and conferred a new charter on the burgesses, by which he granted the town "to them and their successors, during the term of sixty years, to commence at the end of twenty years. "He also granted to the mayor and commonalty of Bristol, during the said term of sixty years, certain liberties, &c. under a certain form, on condition of their yielding and paying yearly to the king, and his heirs, at the

expiration of the said twenty years, during the said term of sixty years, £102. 15s. 6d. ; at the feast of Easter and St. Michael the Archangel, by equal portions, to the abbot of Tewkesbury, £14. 10s. ; to the prior of St. James's of Bristol, and his successor for the time being, for the annual rent of the mill of the said town, £3. ; to the constable of the castle of Bristol, and his officers for the time being, that is to say, to the porter of the gate, and watchmen of the castle, and to the forester of King's-wood, £39. 14s. 6d. to be paid during the aforesaid term of sixty years.

“ The king also granted all fines, forfeitures, &c. in as full a manner as if he had retained the town, so that the mayor and commonalty were empowered to levy, and receive and retain all goods forfeited, to the use and profit of themselves and their successors. They were also to have the court of view or frank pledge, &c. (the escheat of lands and tenements in times to come being always excepted.) All the beforementioned privileges, liberties, &c. within the said town, and its precincts, he fully and wholly granted to the mayor and commonalty, on their yielding and paying £102. 15s. 6d. in the manner aforesaid.”

Queen Margaret, the consort of Henry VI. honoured Bristol with a visit in 1456 ; but we have no record of the procession of the burgesses, and other public demonstrations of loyalty on that occasion. Such an account would have been grateful to curiosity, as illustrative of the manners of the people at that period.

In March, 1461, Henry VI. was deposed by the partisans of the house of York ; and Edward, Earl of March, the eldest son of the Duke of York, was elected King of England, by a council of all the bishops, noblemen, gentlemen, and magistrates, in London and its vicinity. On the day after his election, Edward went in procession to St. Paul's, and was afterwards conducted

to Westminster-Hall, where he sat in the coronation chair, with the sceptre of St. Edward in his hand. He there received the homage of the lords, afterwards proceeded to Westminster Abbey, and was placed in the chair as king, while *Te Deum* was sung. Next day he was proclaimed at London, by the name of Edward IV.*

Soon after his coronation, King Edward proceeded through different parts of England, for the purpose of encouraging his friends, and repressing the partisans of the House of Lancaster, whom he punished with great severity. In the course of his progress he came to Bristol, in September, and was present at the execution of Sir Baldwin Fulford, and his two companions, Bright and Hesant. They had been imprisoned for some time in Bristol-Castle, in consequence of Sir Baldwin having given his bond to Henry VI. that he would take away the life of the Earl of Warwick, who then plotted the dethronement of the king, or lose his own head. King Edward, with the sanguinary vengeance which was one of the characteristics predominant in

*SPEECH OF EDWARD IV. TO HIS PARLIAMENT, A. D. 1461.

"James Strangways, and ye that be comyn for the common of this my Lond, for the true hertes and tender considerations that ye have had to my right and title, that Y. and my Auncestres, have had unto the Corune of this Reame, the which from us have been longe tyme witholde; and now, thanked be Almyghty God, of whos grace groweth all Victory, by youre true hertes and grete assistens Y am restored unto that that is my right and title; wherefore Y thanke you as hertely as Y can. Also for the tender and true hertes that ye have shewed unto me, in that that ye have tenderly had in remembraunce, the correction of the horrible murdre, and cruell deth of my Lord, my Fader, my Brother Rutland, and my Cosyn of Salysbury, and other, Y thanke you right hertely: and Y shall be unto you, with the grace of Almyghty God, as good and gracious Soverayn Lord, as ever was eny of my noble Progenitours to their Subgettes and Liegemen. And for the feithfull and lovyng hertes, and also the grete labours that ye have born and susteyned toward me, in the recovering of my seid right and title which Y nowe possesse, Y thanke you with all my herte: and yf Y had eny better good to reward you withall then my body, ye shuld have it, they which shall alwey be redy for your defence, never sparyng nor lettyng for noo jeopardie; praying you all of youre herty assistens and good contynuaunce, as Y shall be unto you youre verey rightwisse and lovyng Liege Lord."—Parl. Roll, vol. 5. p. 487.

the fifteenth century, commanded the knight and his accomplices to be beheaded, and he afterwards departed from Bristol on the same day.

More than a century had now elapsed since the discovery of the loadstone, and the invention of the mariner's compass. This important acquisition stimulated the enterprise of adventurous merchants; the intercourse of the civilized nations of the globe was materially facilitated, and the general benefits of commerce more widely diffused. The numerous and extensive privileges bestowed on Bristol by different sovereigns, gave this city a decided superiority over every sea-port in England, except London; and the prosperity of the merchants was further promoted by the public spirit of several noblemen, and other principal proprietors of lands, who liberally supplied the manufacturers and traders with wool, grain, lead, tin, timber, and other productions of the soil; and also lent industrious tradesmen money to enable them to pursue their business with success. Such was the beneficial influence of the royal patronage of Edward III. to the commerce of his country. During the fourteenth century, the merchants of Bristol were so successful, that several of them who had commenced business as factors to the landholders, were enabled to trade upon their own capital, and realize immense fortunes.

Nor was the wealth of those fortunate individuals mispent. They left lasting memorials of their piety and philanthropy, by the erection of edifices appropriated to the public worship of the Deity; and the endowment of hospitals and alms-houses for the mitigation of pain, and the accommodation of indigence. At the same time the corporation in general manifested their public spirit, by the erection of new buildings, and the general improvement of the town.

A most important and satisfactory document, respecting the merchants and shipping of the port of Bristol, in the fifteenth century, has been preserved from

oblivion by Mr. Nasmith, who, with indefatigable patience, decyphered and transcribed the Itinerary of William Botoner, commonly called William of Worcester, which was preserved in the library of Benet College, Cambridge.

According to the records of William of Worcester, the celebrated William Cannings was the most opulent merchant of Bristol at this period. He employed eight hundred men, during eight years, in the following ships.

	TONS.
The Mary and John, burthen.....	900
The Mary Redcliff.....	500
The Mary Canyngs.....	400
The Katherine of Boston.....	223
The Margaret of Tylny.....	200
The Mary Bat.....	200
The Katherine.....	140
The Little Nicholas.....	140
A ship of Ireland.....	100
The Galliot.....	50
<hr/>	
Total.....	2853

Ten merchantmen, of such considerable tonnage, and manned by so great a number of seamen, is a sufficient demonstration of the extensive foreign commerce carried on by one Bristol merchant; and Botoner superadds the names and tonnage of shipping belonging to other merchants of this port, in 1480. Among those particularized are the following.

	TONS.
The John, of.....	511
The Mary Grace.....	300
The ———.....	360
The George.....	200

	TONS.
The Kateryn.....	180
The Mary Bryd.....	100
The Christofer.....	90
The Mary Shernman.....	54
The Leonard.....	50
The Mary of Bristow.....	—
The George.....	—

He also observes that Thomas Strange had twelve ships, and John Godeman

During the mayoralty of William Cannings, in the year 1466, the following ordinances were established for the regulation of merchants, according to custom from time immemorial.

“ 1. The mayor and council, fifteen days after Michaelmas, were to call a council, and choose a person that had been mayor or sheriff, to be master of the society of merchants, and to choose two merchants for wardens, and two beadles, who were to officiate as brokers, and be attendant during a year upon the masters and wardens, &c.

“ 2. The master and society to have the chapel, and the draught chamber at Spicer's-hall, to assemble in, paying twenty shilling a year.

“ 3. All merchants to attend, if in town, upon summons, or to pay one pound of wax to the master and society.

“ 4. All rules for selling to strangers of any of the *four merchandizes*, to be kept on pain of twenty shillings for every default: one half to be paid to the society, and the other to the corporation chamber.

“ 5. No merchant to sell goods to any stranger under the regulated price, under a penalty of twenty shillings, to be disposed of as abovementioned.

“ 6. If any merchant be in distress, he must apply to the wardens or beadles, declaring the same; and if they provide not a remedy in three days, then the merchant burgess shall be set at liberty to dispose of any of his four merchandizes at his pleasure.”

By such prudent regulations did the merchants of Bristol steadily pursue their commercial plans, which generally were crowned with success, and laid the foundation of the present opulence of their successors.

The following description of this ancient city, as it appeared in 1470, is recorded by a native;* and a comparison of what it then was, with its present improved state, will doubtless afford gratification to the native citizen, and admirer of topography.

“ Near the High-Crosse four weyes meet, viz. Hygh Strete, Bradstrete, Wynchstrete, and St. Collas-Strete. At Seynt Callas-yate, in the north syde of the yate meten acrossse wyse IIII weyes, whych ben ye shamelys and Seynt Nicholas Strete. At the sout side of Seynt Collas yate meten twey chyff weyes, the chieff brygge upon four grete arches of ten vethym yn hyth, and the fayre chappelle upon the fifth arch, and the second way havynge the space of a tryangle goyng to Bak by Seynt Nicholas Chyrch.

“ Item, at the begynnyng of the Bakk, there the fyrst gryse called a Slypp, ben twey weyes, the fyrst wey ys the seyde sleve of *** yerdes long, goyng

to the water called Avyn-water to wesh clothes, and to entre ynto the vessels and shyppes that comen to the seyde Bak; and the second wey entryth yn Baldwyne-strete.

“ At the crosse yn Baldwyne-strete been four cross weys metyng one way goyng ys a grete wyde way goyng to Bafft-strete, ye second waye goyng northward by a hygh grese called a steyr of 32 steppes ynto Seynt Collas-strete; the other tweyn metyng wayes at the seyde cross of Baldwyne-strete. At the south syde of Seynt Johnys ys yate meten also 4 crosse weyes, whych one chief way ys Brad-strete. the second ys Toure-strete bye Seynt Johnys Chyrch, goyng streyt to Wynch-strete, and ys but a streyt way goyng by the old Towne walle and the old Towne yate called blynd yate, streyt by the anntient fyrst yate called Pytthey-yate uppon the Lylle entryng ynto Wynch-strete, called Castel-strete; the third wey ys Seynt Laurens-strete goyng from Seynt Johnys gate into Smalle-strete. The fourth wey through the sayde yate of Seynt John goyng ynto Cristmas-strete, called Knyf-smyth-strete.

“ In the north syde of Seynt Johnys-yate ys a 3 triangle ways, one way goyng right to Cristmasse-strete warde. The second wey goth ryghest by the woulde of Seynt Johnys Chyrch goynt ynto Gropecounte-lane to Monken-brigge a pryson plase sometye. The third wey goyng a crosse wey to the key by the lower wey of Seynt Laurens, and by the old Temple yettys where be grete vowtes under the hyest walle of Bristow, and the old Chyrch of Seynt Gylys was bylded over the vowtes yn the way goyng to Seynt Laurens Laane ynto Small-strete.

“ At Seynt Leonard yate yn the east syde meten wyth me the yate 4 quadryvalle wayes, as Corn-strete in the est parte, the second wey toward the north is Seynt Leonard way goyng from ye chyrch streyt into Small-strete; the 3d way goth esterly from Seynt Leonard Chyrch ynto Seynt Collas-strete.

“ The yate of Seynt Leonard under the seyð chyrch crosseth two ways, the south-east way ys Baldwyne-strete goong to the Bakk; the second way ys called Pylle-strete, those of old days runne the water called Frome by Baldwyne-strete to the Bakk, fallynge into Avyn-water, and whych Pylle-strete gooth streyt north by the old custom-house to the key, where ys a grate space lyke to a large tryangle, and in the myddel of the seyð tryangle ys a fayre Tour of frestone bylded.

“ Item, yn the myddys of Pyle-strete, toward the new chyrch toure of Seynt Stevyn’s metyn 4 ways dyversly at the entree of Seynt Stevyn’s chyrch-yrde at the style or lytille yate; the first way westward ys a large and a long way called Mersh-strete, there many merchauntes and also maryners dwellin.

“ At the seyð chyrch style ys a lane goyng in the south syde of Seynt Stevyn’s Chyrch, goyng by the chyrch-yrde to the kay by old Leycester dore yn the north syde of the toure of the chyrch by the new doore to the seyð kay.

“ Item, at the end of the seyde Pylle-strete, by the seyð lane that returned by the begynnyng of the seyð fyrst lane ys another laane, that goth evyn ryght by the este ende of Seynt Stevyn Chyrch under the hygh auter, and so contynewyth the seyð laane to the seyð kay northly.

“ Item, out of that laane that goth by the est eende of Seynt Stevyn Chyrch returnyth another laane from the north syde of Seynt Peter Chyrch by the west dore of the seyð chyrch, turnyng to aforesaid fyrst laane so entryng to the kay.

“ At New Gate in the west front of yt. wythynne Bristow, there meten two large weys, and the norther wey ys called Towr-strete, aliter

Wynch-strete, and so goth by the old yate of the tounne, about one hundred and twenty stepps yn length to the Hygh Crosse ward, where the old tounne wall stode."

During the sanguinary competition between the Houses of York and Lancaster, Bristol enjoyed comparative tranquillity; for while several other cities of England were ravaged by the partisans of the white rose and the red, the manufacturers and merchants of this port continued their lucrative pursuits with prosperous activity. We have already seen that the majority of the inhabitants of Bristol were attached to the cause of King Edward IV. and in the year 1470, the Duke of Somerset marched with his army from this city to Tewkesbury, where a decisive victory obtained by Queen Margaret and Prince Henry, secured the crown to Edward.

The unrelenting severity of Edward against the partisans of the House of Lancaster, continued with little relaxation; he appears to have been of a cruel disposition, faithless to his engagements, and delighting in the sacrifice of his enemies. Malignant individuals availed themselves of this characteristic of their sovereign; and, among other instances, it is recorded, that in 1478, Thomas Norton, Esq. a resident of Bristol, accused Mr. William Spencer, mayor, of high treason. He was immediately imprisoned, and continued in confinement thirteen days; but on investigation, the accuser being unable to substantiate his charge, Mr. Spencer was set at liberty. Another instance of personal malignity occurred in Bristol in the year 1479. Mr. Robert Strange, who had formerly been mayor, was accused by Robert Marks of coining money, and exporting it to the Continent, for the use of the Earl of Richmond. On this charge Mr. Strange was confined in the Tower of London during seven or eight weeks; but when the truth was known, and his innocence proved, his accuser was sent to Bristol, where he was hanged, drawn, and quartered, for the false accusation.

On the 15th of October, 1483, during an eclipse of the moon, the inhabitants of Bristol were exposed to the dangers of an inundation, accompanied with a tempest. Several ships were wrecked in Kingroad, and the low country on the banks of the Severn, and the Avon, as far as Bristol, was inundated. Two hundred men, women, and children, were drowned; and houses, corn, and cattle, carried away by the flood. Great damage was done to goods in the merchants' warehouses in Bristol; and the darkness which prevailed when the inundation was at the height, rendered that circumstance more dangerous and terrible. The appearance of the moon during the eclipse was singularly curious. Her disk was variegated with streaks of red, blue, and green, with a little light at the upper part.

King Edward V. was only in the thirteenth year of his age when he succeeded his father, in 1483; and in the course of that year he was deposed, and assassinated by his ambitious uncle, who was proclaimed king, by the name of Richard III. But this cruel usurper enjoyed the regal authority only two years and two months, being defeated and slain by the Earl of Richmond, at Bosworth, on the 22d day of August, 1485.

The victor was proclaimed king by his army on the field of battle, by the name of Henry VII. The marriage of this king and the Princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. terminated the competition between the houses of York and Lancaster, and the commotions which had existed in England for thirty years, and cost one hundred thousand men their lives, entirely subsided. On the day of his coronation King Henry instituted a guard of fifty archers to attend him and his successors for ever.

In 1487 the king came to Bristol, when he was met by the mayor and burgesses in Redfield. The corporation were dressed in green; they attended his majesty to the High Cross, where the clergy met him in their robes, with

children singing, and other demonstrations of joy. He was received at St. John's Gate, and conducted with great pomp to the abbey of St. Augustine, where he was entertained by the abbot.

In the year 1490, among other improvements, the streets of this city were newly paved, and the High Cross painted and gilded: the corporation manifested their loyalty and opulence by a gift of five hundred pounds to their sovereign, who in the course of the year honoured Bristol with another visit. The King was accompanied by the lord chancellor; he lodged at the abbey of St. Augustine; and before his departure, every inhabitant of Bristol, worth twenty pounds in goods, was compelled to pay a fine of twenty shillings, because their wives went so richly apparelled. This exaction was not very honourable to the feelings of a prince, to whom the burgesses had so recently manifested their attachment and liberality by a large donation; but financiers are seldom scrupulous respecting the means requisite for the acquisition of money. The increasing population, as well as prosperity of Bristol, induced several opulent individuals, in the year 1495, to begin the erection of houses in the space which surrounded St. Augustine's Green, now called College Green.

Towards the close of the fifteenth century, several opulent merchants of Bristol left memorials of their philanthropy, by the endowment of alms-houses and hospitals, which shall be described in a subsequent part of this work.—But the principal event by which Bristol was distinguished at this period, was the adventurous spirit manifested by some of its inhabitants.

The art of printing, which was invented in 1430, contributed to a more general diffusion of knowledge, and its beneficial consequences were soon demonstrated by the successful extension of geographical discoveries. America was discovered in 1492, by Columbus; and the fame of this great navigator excited the emulation of other enterprizing adventurers. John Cabot, a native

of Venice, who had settled at Bristol, and became an opulent merchant, obtained the king's letters patent, authorising him to sail, with his three sons, for the discovery of new and unknown lands. This royal permission, which fully evinces the liberality of King Henry VII. is to the following purport.

“ Henry by the grace of God, &c. Be it known to all, that we have given and granted, and by these presents do give and grant to our well-beloved John Cabot, citizen of Venice; to Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanctius, sons of the said John, and to their heirs and deputies, full and free authority, leave, and power, to sail to all parts, countries, and seas, of the east, of the west, and of the north, under our banners and ensigns, with five ships of whatsoever burthen or quality they be; and as many mariners and men as they will take with them in the said ships, upon their own proper costs and charges, to look out, discover, and find, whatsoever isles, countries, regions, or provinces of the Heathens and Infidels, wheresoever they be, and in what part soever of the world, which before this time have been unknown to all Christians. We have granted to them jointly and separately, and to their deputies, and have given them our licence, to set up our banners and ensigns in every village, town, castle, isle, or continent of them newly found; and that the said John and his sons, and their heirs, may subdue, occupy, and possess all such cities, towns, &c. by them found, which they can subdue, occupy, and possess, as our vassals and lieutenants, getting to us the rule, title, and jurisdiction of the same villages, towns, &c. yet so that the said John and his sons, and their heirs, of all the fruits, profits, and commodities growing from such navigation, shall be held and bound to pay to us, in wares or money, the fifth part of the capital gain so gotten, for every voyage, *as often as they shall arrive at our port of Bristol, at which port they shall be obliged only to arrive*, deducting all manner of necessary costs and charges by them made: we giving and granting unto them, and their heirs and deputies, that they shall be free from all payment of customs on all such merchandise as they shall bring with them from the places so newly found:

And moreover, we have given and granted to them, and their heirs and deputies, that all the firm land, islands, villages, towns, &c. they shall chance to find, may not without licence of the said John Cabot, and his sons, be frequented and visited, under pain of a forfeiture of the ships and goods of those who shall presume to sail to the places so found: willing and commanding all and singular our subjects, as well on land as on sea, to give good assistance to the said John and his sons, and their deputies; and that as well in arming and furnishing their ships and vessels, as in provision of food, and buying victuals for their money, and all other things by them to be provided necessary for the said navigation, they do give them all their favours and assistance. Witness myself at Westminster, the 5th March, in the eleventh year of our reign."

Under the animating influence of royal patronage, John Cabot appears to have exerted himself to the utmost of his power, in preparations for a voyage, which was fraught with such beneficial consequences to the commerce of England. But his second son, Sebastian, was the fortunate navigator, who realized the ideas of the projector. On the 3d day of February, 1497, the king, by an additional grant, permitted "John Cabot to take six ships of England, in any haven or havens of the realm, of the burden of two hundred tons or under, with all the requisites for their equipment or repair, and all things necessary for the intended voyage, and also to take in the said ships such masters, mariners, and subjects of the king as were willing to go with him." In the spring of the same year, John Cabot, and his son Sebastian, sailed from the port of Bristol, in a ship called the Matthew, and another vessel, the name of which is unrecorded. On the 24th of June they discovered the island of Newfoundland, St. John's, and the continent of North America. It is remarkable that in the same year South America was discovered by Americus Vesputius, who had the honour to give his name to that vast continent. We are told by an annalist of that age, that "in the fourteenth year of the reign of Henry VII. three men were brought from Newfoundland, and presented to the king.

They are described as being clothed in the skins of wild beasts : their food consisted of raw flesh, and they spoke in an unknown language. Their manners were savage, but they afterwards became humanized, and were clothed in the common dress then worn in England.”*

Peter Martyr, a Spaniard, accurately described the first voyage of Sebastian Cabot from Bristol to America. “ The north seas have been explored by Sebastian Cabot, a Venitian born, whom his parents in his infancy carried with them to England, having occasion to resort thither for trade. For the Venitians leave no part of the world unsearched for riches. He furnished two ships in England at his own expence, and manned them with three hundred mariners. He first steered so far towards the north pole, that even in the month of July he found vast mountains of ice floating in the sea. At that season of the year, there was almost continual day-light in those northern regions, and the land along the coast was free from ice, which had been dissolved by the heat of the sun. The obstruction he met with from the mountains of ice, compelled him to change his course, and steer westward, coasting along the shores of that unknown country. As he proceeded near the coast of this great land, he discovered that the course of the waters was westward, but more gentle than the rapid current which the Spaniards found in their navigation southwards. Sebastian Cabot called these lands Baccalaos, a name given by the inhabitants to a large kind of fish, which appeared in such shoals that they sometimes interrupted the progress of his ships. He found the natives of those regions covered with the skins of beasts, yet not destitute of reason. He also observed great numbers of bears which frequented the shores, and lived upon fish which they caught with their claws. The only metal which he saw in use among the inhabitants, and which they had in abundance, was called laton. Cabot is my friend ; he frequently visits at my house, and I am delighted with his

* Fabian.

company. After the death of King Henry of England the 7th of that name, Cabot was invited out of England by the catholic king of Castile, and was made one of the council and assistants for the regulation of affairs in the new Indies. We are in daily expectation that ships will be fitted out to enable him to make new discoveries in that part of the globe, and the voyage is to be begun next March, A. D. 1516."

It appears from one account of Cabot's discoveries, that like Columbus, his enterprising genius was thwarted by the mutinous disposition of his fellow-adventurers. Sir H. Gilbert, in a work entitled *A Discovery of a new Passage to Cataia*, informs us that Sebastian Cabot, by his personal experience, described this passage in his charts, which are yet to be seen in the queen majesty's privy gallery at Whitehall. He was sent to make this discovery by King Henry VII. and having entered the fret, he affirmed that he sailed very far westward, with a quarter of north, in the north side of Terra Labrador, the 11th of June, until he came to the septentrional latitude of $67\frac{3}{4}$ degrees; and finding the seas still open, said that he might and would have gone to Cataia, if the enmity of the master and mariners had not prevented him.

Of Cabot's second voyage from Bristol, we have a short account recorded by an accurate annalist.* "1498,—this year one Sebastian Cabota, born at Bristow, professing himself to be expert in knowledge of the circuit of the world and islands thereof, as by his charts, and other reasonable demonstrations he shewed, caused the king to man and victual a ship at Bristow, to search for an island which he knew to be replenished with rich commodities: in the ship, divers merchants of London adventured small stocks, and in companie with this ship sayled also out of Bristow three or four small shippes, fraught with slight and other grosse wares, as coarse cloth, caps, laces, prints, and such other."

* Howes's Continuation of Stow's Chronicles.

The intended voyage of Cabot from Spain, in 1516, was realized; he discovered the coast of Brazil, and the river of Plate, and was rewarded with the appointment of pilot-master of Spain, an honour which he long continued to enjoy; and in his old age, a pension of £166. 13s. 4d. sterling was conferred on him by King Edward VI. in 1549, with the appointment of grand pilot of England. The money was to be paid to him during his natural life, out of the treasury of the exchequer at Westminster.

The reputation and success of Cabot soon induced other adventurers from Bristol to sail on a voyage of discovery. We are informed that those navigators "in two ships of 80 tons, of Mr. Jay, a merchant, began their voyage 15th July, 1480, at the port of Bristol, in Kingroad, for the island of Brazyle, taking their course from the west part of Ireland, plowing the seas through, and Thylde is master of the ship, the most skilful mariner of all England; and news came to Bristol, Monday, 18th September, that the said ships sailed over the seas for nine months, and found not the island, but through tempests at sea returned to port in Ireland, for laying up their ships and mariners."*

Such was the activity and perseverance manifested by the merchants of Bristol for the extension of commerce at the close of the fifteenth century, a most important epoch in the history of man. The intercourse opened between America and Europe contributed essentially to the diffusion of benevolence, and the acquisition of geographical knowledge. The cruelties, indeed, which were exercised by the Spaniards in South America, were not consistent with the principles of justice or humanity; but the general effect of an intercourse between Europe and the Asian and American nations, was certainly favourable to civilization. Mankind imperceptibly became united by the ties of reciprocal advantage; and the natives of remote regions no longer regarded each other as mortal enemies.

* Botoner's Itinerary, p. 67.

It may with truth be asserted, that Bristol has a claim to the honour of being the birth-place of those intrepid and experienced navigators who first sailed from England on a voyage of discovery. Columbus, indeed, is entitled to the precedence, as an adventurous and successful navigator; but Cabot, a native of Bristol, stands next to his illustrious cotemporary among those celebrated mariners whose discoveries have contributed to the happiness of the civilized world.

The commencement of the sixteenth century was an auspicious æra to the inhabitants of Bristol. A charter, conferring very extensive privileges, was granted to the corporation by King Henry VII. In this charter it was specified “ that the corporation shall have six aldermen, the recorder to be one, with like powers as the aldermen of London, to be chosen for the first time by the mayor and common-council, and always afterwards by the aldermen. The two bailiffs to be chosen as formerly, shall likewise be sheriffs of the county, and be sworn into and execute both offices. The mayor and two of the aldermen, with the assent of the commonalty, to choose the forty common council-men, with the same powers as were granted to them by the charter of the 47th Edward III. That for the future there shall be one chamberlain, who shall be elected by the mayor and common council in the Guildhall; the person so elected shall be a burgess, and continue in that office as long as the mayor and common council shall please: he shall also take an oath to perform his office before the mayor, &c. and shall have a seal affixed to his office, with the like powers as the chamberlain of the city of London. If any inhabitant of the town of Bristol, &c. for the future shall be disobedient to the ordinances of the mayor, aldermen, and common-council, or shall cause disturbance on the election of the mayor, or any other officer whatsoever, the offender shall be punished according to the law of the kingdom of England, by the mayor and two of the aldermen. Also the said mayor shall have power to take the probates of wills of lands, tenements, rents, and termes, within the said town, suburbs, and precincts of the same, bequeathed within two years after the death of the

testator: so that such tenements and legacies be proclaimed in full court of the Guildhall of Bristol, and enrolled in the rolls of the said court, the enrolment shall be of record; and from thence the said mayor, and his successors, may have power to put the legacies aforesaid in execution by his officers in form of law, or by due process to be made before them by writ *ex gravi querela*, and the prosecution and election of any man who will prosecute the same. The mayor and one alderman may hold their courts, and such pleas, as at any time before have been used and accustomed for the time being, for ever. And all fines and amercements shall come to the mayor and commonalty of the town, without accounting to the king, his heirs, or successors."

This royal grant was obtained by the corporation in the year 1500. In the first year of the reign of King Henry VII. he granted to Thomas Hoskins the office of bailiff of the water of Bristol, for the time of his life; and at his decease, it was granted to the mayor and commonalty to nominate one of the burgesses of the town to that office. "And the mayor, &c. shall have power to name and constitute the wages, fees, &c. to the said office due and anciently accustomed, yielding to the king and his heirs a rent of four marks of lawful money of England yearly, at the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, and to be accountable for no more than four marks as aforesaid, to be paid for the said office. And we grant that any three of the said aldermen, whereof two of them shall be the mayor and recorder of the said town, may be justices of gaol delivery within the town, and may have for the future for ever the like power, with other justices of gaol delivery, saving always to the king, and his heirs, all amercements at gaol delivery. These being witnesses, our most dear first-born son Arthur, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwal, and others. Dated at Knoll, the 17th of December, in the fifteenth year of our reign, 1500."

While these important charters established the municipal government of Bristol, the industry of her merchants and manufacturers promoted her prosperity.

The emulation to make foreign discoveries continued, and a patent was granted in 1502 by King Henry VII. dated 9th December, authorising James Elliot and Thomas Ashurst, merchants of Bristol, and John Gonzalles and Francis Fernandez, natives of Portugal, to go with English colours in quest of unknown countries, on certain terms expressed in the patent.* The event of this voyage is unrecorded.

The first coinage of shillings in England, in 1505, contributed to the accommodation of the trader; and in 1509, the art of horticulture was introduced from the Netherlands. At this period the kingdom enjoyed the blessings of peace and prosperity.

The accession of Henry VIII. to the throne was considered by the people as a felicitous event. This youthful sovereign, who was only in the eighteenth year of his age when he was crowned, was one of the most accomplished scholars of the age; he was also skilful in athletic exercises, courageous, and handsome. In the early part of his reign, few events of importance are recorded of Bristol. A custom, which originated in humanity, but had been abused, was abolished during the mayoralty of Mr. Joy, in 1516. It had been customary, from time immemorial, that every person from the country, who came to sell goods in the market of Bristol, should pay one halfpenny for every sack, &c. pitched in the market-place. The money thus collected was paid to the gaoler for the relief of the prisoners confined in Newgate; but it was discovered that he appropriated it to his own use. Mr. Abbinton, a public-spirited burgess, with the concurrence of the mayor, undertook to reform this abuse, and exempted the country people from paying the custom. He also established a fund to supply the prisoners with victuals, wood, and straw.

* Collection of Public Acts.

The reformation, begun by Martin Luther, in Germany, in 1517, excited the general attention of all Christendom. King Henry VIII. manifested his zeal against what was considered as heresy, by writing an answer to Luther in defence of the Papal authority. For this public service he was honoured by Leo X. with the title of *Defender of the Faith*; but his subsequent conduct proved how much the Pope was mistaken in his champion.

In the year 1522, every man was sworn what he was worth throughout the kingdom; a very unjustifiable and arbitrary measure in the government.

The manufacture of soap, begun in Bristol in 1523, was carried on with such skill and success, that the London market was supplied with that article of the best quality, at one penny a pound. But while manufactures were thus pursued, tillage must have been either neglected or mismanaged; for in the year 1524, grain was so scarce in England, that several persons attempted to make bread of fern-roots; and it is recorded that during the scarcity, bread was brought to Bristol, and the populace went in crowds to meet the waggons at Pile Hill.

Among the branches of foreign commerce, several merchants of Bristol traded to the Canary Islands in 1526. They exported cloth, soap, and other English commodities, in return for which they imported drugs, sugar, dying stuff, and kid-skins.

In a ledger belonging to Mr. N. Thorn, sen. a principal merchant of Bristol, under the date of the year 1526, there is an invoice of armour, and other merchandise, sent by him to T. Tison, an Englishman, who had settled in the West Indies. This is the first record of a trade from this city to that quarter of the globe. But a very considerable traffick between this port and

Spain, was established early in the sixteenth century. Among other English merchants who traded to Spain, it is recorded that Mr. Robert Thorn, of Bristol, and his partner, “ ventured and employed 1400 ducats in a fleet of ships, fitted out and armed by the merchants of Seville ; for that two Englishmen, friends of his, learned in cosmography, were to go in the said ships with Sebastian Cabot, then intended for the Moluccas, by the streights of Magellan, in April, 1527. But the voyage was pursued only to the river Plate.” The adventurers were to bring him a true account of the situation of the country, the navigation of those seas, any charts by which the inhabitants of those regions sailed, and information respecting the climate, soil, and produce of the different countries at which they touched. The conclusion of Mr. Thorn’s letter to Dr. Ley, ambassador from Henry VIII. to the Emperor Charles, is strongly expressive of the adventurous disposition of the merchants of Bristol, at that early period of English commerce. “ If from the islands of the Moluccas,” says he, “ the sea doth extend without interposition of land to sail from north to north-east point 1700 or 1800 leagues, they should come to the Newfoundland islands that the English discovered, and so we should be nearer to the spiceries by almost 200 leagues than the emperor, or the King of Portugal.”

In 1533 the celebrated Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, came to Bristol, where he continued nineteen days. During his stay, he reformed many abuses in public worship, and preached in St. Augustine’s Abbey, and other churches. The papal authority in England was abolished, by an act of the legislature, in 1534, and the king was declared head of the church. A curious account of the means resorted to for the edification of the people, is recorded in Stow’s Chronicle. “ During the sitting of parliament, every Sunday at St. Paul’s Cross, London, preached a bishop, declaring the Pope not to be supreme head of the church. Also in other places of this realm troubles were raised about preaching, even at Bristol, where Maister Latimer preached : and there preached against him one Maister Hoberton, and Dr. Powell ; so that

there were great part-taking on both sides, insomuch that divers priests and others set up bills against the mayor, and against Maister Latimer. But the mayor, permitting laymen to preach, caused divers priests to be apprehended and cast into Newgate, with bolts upon them, and divers others ran away and lost their living, rather than come in the mayor's handling."

In 1534, King Henry, in his progress through England, arrived at Thornbury. The mayor of Bristol sent ten fat oxen, and forty sheep, as a p̄sent to his majesty, and a silver cup and cover, with one hundred marks of gold, to Queen Ann. It is probable that the king was much gratified with the liberality of the corporation ; for it is recorded that when he afterwards came to Bristol in disguise, accompanied by several gentlemen, he passed through the town incognito, attended by Mr. Thorn, a merchant, to whom he said, " This is now the town of Bristol, but I will make it the city of Bristol."

The king had formerly experienced the zeal and promptitude of the merchants of Bristol in his service, as appears by the following record. " Bristol was first made a county of itselfe the 47th Edward III. for notable services done to the king ; and in the 34th Henry VIII. made a city, in regard of the love the said king did bear to the place, and of the great services done by the said towne, especially in the wars against the French king, who would have landed in the Isle of Wight ; at which time this towne did set forth eight ships. When King Henry VIII. came on board Bristowe's fleet on that memorable time, he asked the names of their ships, and they answered the king, it is this : the first is,

TONS.

The barque Thorn, of.....	600
The barque Pratt.....	600
The barque Gourney.....	400
The barque Younge.....	400

TONS.

The barque Winter.....	300
The barque Shipman.....	250
The Elephant.....	120
The Dragon.....	120

The king wished he had many such Thorns, Pratts, Gournays, and the like, in his londe."

In 1536 there was a general procession of the corporation, clergy, and principal inhabitants of Bristol, on account of Queen Jane being delivered of a son. The reformation had now made an extensive progress in England; but so capricious was King Henry, that he punished with equal injustice the Protestants, and the clergy who adhered to the Pope. Bristol was not without its share of religious animosity and persecution. In 1538 George Wisard, who preached in St. Nicholas' Church, was accused of heresy, and condemned to bear a faggot for his erroneous doctrine.

The suppression of monasteries throughout England, in 1539, was fatal to the papal authority in this kingdom. Among other religious establishments, the abbey of St. Augustine, and the house of St. Mark, called the Gaunts, in Bristol, were suppressed; and the following curious account of that event was transmitted by one of the commissioners to Lord Thomas Cromwell, who was nominated visitor-general. It is transcribed from the 26th volume of Dodsworth's M.S. in the Bodleian Library.

"Pleaseth your mastership to understand, that yesternight late we came from Glassenburie to Bristow to St. Austine's, whereas we begun this morning, intending this day to dispatch both this house, here being but 14 chanons, and also the gauntes, whereas be 4 or 5. By this bringer my servant, I send you reliques; 1st, two flowers wrapped in white and black sarcenet, that on

Christmas Even, (*hora ipsa qua Christus natus fuerat*) will spring and burgen and bear blossoms, *quod expertum est*, saith the prior of Maden Bradeley. Ye shall also receive a bag of reliques, whereon ye shall see strange things, as shall appear by the scripture, as God's coate, our ladies smocke, part of God's supper, in *Cæna Domini*. *Pars petrae super quam natus erat Jesus in Bethlehem*. Belike there is in Bethlehem plenty of stones. The scripture of every thing shall declare you all, and all these of Maden Bradeley, whereas is an holy Father Prior, and hath but six children, and but one daughter married yet of the goods of the monastery, trusting shortly to marry the rest. His sons be tall men, waiting upon him, and he thanke God a never medelet with married women, but all with maidens, the fairest could be gotten, and always married them right well. The Pope, considering his fragility, gave him leave to keep a whore, and hath good writings *sub plumbo*, to discharge his conscience, and to chuse Mr. Underhill to be his ghostly father, and hee to give him *plenam remissionem*, &c. I send you alsoe our lady's girdell, of Bruton red silke, which is a solemn relique sent to women travelling, which shall not miscarry in *partu*. I send you alsoe Marie Magdalen's girdell, and that is wrapped and covered with white, sent alsoe with great reverence to women travelling, which girdell Matilda, the empress, founder of Farley, gave to them, as saith the holy father of Farley. I have crosses of silver and gold, Sir, which I send you not now, because I have moe that shall be delivered mee this night by the prior of Maden Bradeley himself. To-morrow early in the morning, I shall bring you the rest when I have received all, and perchance I shall find something here. In case you depart this daie, that it may please you to send me word by this bringer, my servant, which waie I shall repair after you. Within the charter-house hath professed and done all things, according as I shall declare you at large to-morrow early. At Bruton and Glassenbury there is nothing notable, the brethren be soe straight kept that they cannot offend, but faine the would, if they might, as they confesse, and such fault is not in them.

“ From St. Austyne’s without Bristowe, this St. Bartholmew’s daie, att nine of the clock in the morning, by the speedy hand of yōur most assured poore prieste,
 RICHARD HAYTON.”

In the month of July, 1541, Bristol was proclaimed a city. Paul Bush was chosen suffragan bishop, and to be resident at St. Augustine’s abbey, which was, according to the proclamation, to be thenceforward called Trinity College of the city of Bristol for ever. This city, now exalted to the highest honours that royalty could bestow, seems to have enjoyed considerable tranquillity during the remainder of the reign of Henry VIII. In 1543, the litany was sung in English, in a general procession from Christ Church to the Church of St. Mary Redcliff; and in the same year, Temple Fee was incorporated with the city.

The citizens of Bristol distinguished themselves by their patriotism and loyalty, at this period;—“ in 1543, twelve ships sailed out of Bristol in the king’s service, to assist at the siege of Bulloign, with Matthew Earl of Lenox, under whom served William Winter and Sir Richard Maunsell, who returned again with the earl.”

In the year 1544, this city was visited by the plague. Gunpowder had been invented in 1340, but so unskilled were the people in general in the use of this destructive chemical preparation, that frequent accidents happened. A ship was set on fire at the quay in Bristol, in 1544, by the bursting of a gun, which killed three men.

On the 26th of June, 1545, it was proclaimed at the High Cross, that the five gates of the city of Bristol should be free for the ingress and egress of strangers, with their goods; and the Back and the Quay were also proclaimed to be free for all manner of merchandise, except salt fish. This year was also memorable for the erection of a press for printing, and a mint for coining money

in the castle. The plate seized in the west of England, at the dissolution of the monasteries, was coined at this mint. About this time, King Henry gave £1000. to the city of Bristol of the purchase of the Gaunt land, to be laid out by the corporation in good uses. His majesty also gave to his physician, George Owen, certain lands in Bristol, with an injunction that he should engage a minister, at a salary of £12. to preach eight times a year, and pray for the king and his successors; and also provide a competent dwelling for three poor people.

In 1546 King Henry VIII. died; and his successor, Edward VI. was proclaimed king, in the ninth year of his age. The late king, who from the inconsistency of his character had been alternately the persecutor of the Roman Catholics and Protestants, and exercised an almost unlimited authority over the people of England, nominated in his will sixteen persons to be his executors, regents of the kingdom, and governors of his successor, Edward VI. during his minority. Consequently, the short reign of that prince may be said to have been a government by the regents. Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, was at the head of the executors; and being a zealous Protestant, he in 1548 obtained an act of the legislature for the removal of all images and paintings, and whatever else had a tendency to promote idolatry, out of the different places appropriated to public worship throughout the kingdom. According to the same act, the service of the church was performed in the English language.

According to an account given in manuscript annals of Bristol, the populace, in 1549, assembled in a riotous manner, and pulled down all the enclosures about the city, in open defiance of the mayor, and other municipal officers; in consequence of which, several individuals were arrested, and imprisoned in Newgate, and others sent to London. The period is now too remote for a clear investigation of facts relative to this riot, but it is not improbable that the account

is an exaggeration of circumstances. No motive is assigned for this public outrage; and it is very improbable that the rioters should extend their devastations indiscriminately to *all the fences about the city*.

Among other improvements in this city, the place of justice called the Tolzey was built in 1550. In July, the same year, the value of the current coin was reduced by proclamation, the shilling to nine-pence, the two-pence to a penny, and the penny to a halfpenny, to the great injury and inconvenience of the people in general; and to add to the grievance, the price of grain rose so high that the day-labourer could hardly get bread. The benevolence of the corporation of Bristol to the indigent inhabitants, was truly laudable; for, according to a regulation of the mayor, it was ordered that the bakers should supply them with bread at a moderate price.

The year 1551 was memorable for a peculiar epidemic disease, known by the name of the sweating sickness, which committed fatal ravages throughout England, raged in this city from Easter to Michaelmas, and carried off several hundreds of the inhabitants every week. For the encouragement of domestic traffick, a fair was appointed to be held yearly in Temple-street, to commence the 29th of January, and continue nine days. During the reign of Edward VI. the regency seems to have paid considerable attention to the improvement of public morals; for, according to an act of parliament, the magistrates of Bristol were restricted from granting licences to more than six vintners in this city.

On the demise of King Edward VI. in 1553, Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed Queen of England; but her pretensions were justly disputed by the Princess Mary, eldest daughter to King Henry VIII. The partisans of Jane were defeated, and the successful competitor ascended the throne on the 3d of April. Soon after the accession of Queen Mary, she was married to Philip King of Spain; on the 4th of August, 1554, they were proclaimed

King and Queen of England, at the High Cross of Bristol ; and there was a solemn procession of the clergy and corporation through the principal streets of this city, in celebration of that event. In consequence of this marriage, the interests of England and Spain became more closely united ; and the merchants of Bristol, availing themselves of that circumstance, entered into more extensive commercial engagements with the Spanish merchants.

The reign of Queen Mary was disgraced by the malignity of religious persecution. This anti-christian violence was at once subversive of that philanthropy which is the predominant principle of Christianity, and prejudicial to the temporal interests of the people of England. The infuriated zeal of the bigot, and not the patriotism of a benevolent sovereign, actuated the unhappy queen, who was misled by enthusiasm to the perpetration of cruelties at which humanity shudders. In the course of her short reign of four years, four months, and eleven days, eight hundred Protestants, including five bishops and twenty-one ministers, went to the flames, and yielded up their lives as martyrs for the truth of their religion.

" Patriots have toil'd, and in their country's cause
 " Bled nobly, and their deeds as they deserve,
 " Receive proud recompence. We give in charge
 " Their names to the sweet lyre. Th' historic muse,
 " Proud of the treasure, marches with it down
 " To latest times: and sculpture, in her turn,
 " Gives bond in stone and ever-during brass
 " To guard them, and t' immortalize her trust :
 " But fairer wreaths are due, though never paid,
 " To those, who, posted at the shrine of Truth,
 " Have fall'n in her defence. A patriot's blood,
 " Well spent in such a strife, may earn indeed
 " And for a time ensure, to his lov'd land
 " The sweets of liberty and equal laws ;

" But martyrs struggle for a brighter prize,
 " And win it with more pain. Their blood is shed
 " In confirmation of the noblest claim,
 " Our claim to ~~find~~ upon immortal truth,
 " To walk with God, to be divinely free,
 " To soar, and to anticipate the skies.
 " Yet few remember them. *They liv'd unknown,*
 " Till Persecution dragg'd them into fame,
 " And chas'd them up to Heav'n. Their ashes flew
 " —No marble tells us whither. With their names
 " No bard embalms and sanctifies his song :
 " And History, so warm on meaner themes,
 " Is cold on this. She execrates indeed
 " The tyranny that doom'd them to the fire,
 " But gives the glorious sufferers little praise."

Among other victims of persecution, William Stephen, a weaver, was burnt at Bristol, on the 17th October, 1555 ; and in 1556, two men, one a weaver, and the other a shoemaker, were burnt on St. Michael's-hill ; and a shearman suffered in the flames, for denying the sacrament at the altar to be the very body and blood of Christ.

The only instance of the royal patronage to commerce, during the reign of Queen Mary, was the incorporation of the Merchant Adventurers to Russia, in the year 1556. The company consisted of four consuls, and twenty-four assistants.*

In 1557, the queen declared war against France, by the advice of her royal consort. In the first campaign, the combined forces of Spain and England invaded Flanders, and obtained a victory over the French army, at the battle

* Mr. Barrett says, that Sebastian Cabot was constituted the first governor, being the chief encourager of this branch of trade. But this assertion is unauthorised by any existing documents. Cabot, who sailed on a voyage of discovery in 1497, must have been superannuated in 1556, a period of more than half a century.

of St. Lawrence; but in 1558 the ecclesiastics, who composed the council of Queen Mary, were so intent on the destruction of the English Protestants, that they neglected the defence of Calais, and that important town being left with an inadequate garrison, and insufficient military stores, was besieged by the Duke of Guise with a powerful army, and taken after a siege of only seven days. The people of England were exasperated at the government, for having left Calais unprovided with the means of defence. By some bold individuals, the ministry were accused of treason, and by all with incapacity. Nor were these murmurings groundless; for while Calais continued in the possession of the English, they could in twenty-four hours have landed an army from England.

Queen Mary was strongly urged by the King of Spain to make a vigorous effort for the recovery of Calais; but her attention was so completely occupied with the persecution of the Protestants, that the project was deferred. In 1558, however, she equipped a fleet of one hundred and twenty ships of war, commanded by Lord Clinton, who sailed with an intention to seize Brest. But his enterprise was frustrated, and the English, after having landed a body of troops which burnt the town of Conquest, were repelled by a superior force, and obliged to retire to their ships, with the loss of six hundred men. The citizens of Bristol participated in the risk and loss of this unsuccessful expedition; for it is recorded in an ancient manuscript, that "Bristol hath been always loyal to the king's majestie's progenitors, and the next to the crown, not consenting to the proclaiming Queen Jane, though she was so proclaimed in sundrie places. Bristol has been found willing and serviceable ever to their prince, in Queen Marie's time against the French, when they sustained great losses by sea, to the undoing of many, whereof some were taken prisoners."

Robert Adams, mayor of Bristol, was cited to appear before the queen's council in 1558; the charges against him are unknown, but they were probably respecting his religious principles. It appears that he was honourably dismissed;

and his retinue and mode of travelling afford an idea of the pomp attached to municipal authority, and the hospitality characteristic of that age. During his journey to London, and on his return, he kept a table for the accommodation of all visitors ; he was attended by eight men in livery, and accompanied by the steward and chamberlain. On his approach to the city, he was met at Marshfield by four hundred horsemen, and two hundred men on foot ; a proof of his popularity, and the high estimation in which he was held by his fellow-citizens.

On the demise of Mary, in November, 1558, her sister Elizabeth was proclaimed queen. This princess, who was a Protestant, had lived with the utmost circumspection during the reign of her sister, whose zeal for Popery would have sacrificed Elizabeth, had not King Philip generously dissuaded her from the perpetration of so enormous a crime. Elizabeth had passed her juvenile years in retirement, where she devoted herself to literature, first as an amusement, and afterwards as a favourite pursuit, which proved highly conducive to her future glory, during a long and prosperous reign. Immediately on receiving intelligence of the death of her sister, she came from her retirement at Hatfield, in Essex, to London, followed by a numerous train of the nobility, and a vast concourse of the people, who testified their joy at her accession to the throne by reiterated acclamations. She was proclaimed queen, and crowned at Westminster, on the 19th of November, 1558, in the twenty-sixth year of her age.

CHAPTER THE SIXTH.

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CHAPTER THE SIXTH.

SOON after the coronation of Queen Elizabeth, the Protestant religion was re-established in England, by three acts of the legislature. The first appointed the public worship to be performed in the English language; the second restored to the queen her right of supremacy in the church of England; and the third renewed and confirmed all the acts made in the reign of Edward VI. respecting religion. In the House of Lords eight bishops and nine peers protested against the restoration of the Protestant religion; but in the House of Commons it was carried unanimously. Few important events relative to Bristol are recorded in the early part of this sovereign's reign. That the merchants and manufacturers of this city successfully persevered in the acquisition of wealth, cannot be doubted; their ample charters, peculiar immunities, and extensive foreign connections, all contributed to a steady increase of wealth, and the consequent improvement of the town; and when the kingdom was menaced by invasion, the alacrity, zeal, and success of the merchants and mariners of this ancient city, in the repulsion of the enemy, afforded an illustrious instance of their bravery and patriotism.

The first appearance of the Aurora Borealis in our hemisphere, in 1564, is mentioned as having excited in some of the citizens of Bristol a superstitious

dread of an approaching national calamity. We are gravely informed, in a manuscript record of the city, that “ on the 17th of October, in Bristol, there were seen in the sky, beams as red as fire out of a furnace, and after that there followed a plague, which lasted a whole year in this city, and carried off upwards of two thousand five hundred people.” In the winter of the same year there was a very severe frost, insomuch that the river was frozen over at Kingroad, and people went over on foot to St. George’s.

In 1568, the Duke of Norfolk came from Bath to Bristol. On the day of his arrival, his grace viewed the city with much satisfaction, and next morning he went to the church of St. Mary Redcliff, and heard a sermon; and thence to Temple Church, to see the vibrations of the tower during the ringing of the bells. This nobleman was executed for high treason in 1572. An important regulation for the prevention of accidents by fire, was established in this city in 1569; by which all houses and buildings were forbidden to be thatched with straw or reeds, on pain of being pulled down.*

* *A Description of the Houses, Furniture, Manners, and Customs of the English in the Year 1571, from Holthshed's British History, p. 84-85.*

OF THE MANNER OF BUYLDING, AND FURNITURE OF OUR HOUSES.

The greatest parte of our buylding in the cities and good townes of England consisteth only of timber, for as yet fewe of the houses of the comminalty (except here and there in the west country townes) are made of stone, although they may in my opinion in divers other places be builded so good cheape of the one as of the other. In olde tyme the houses of the Brytons were slitley set up with a few postes, and many rables, the like whereof almost is to be soene in the fenny countries unto this day, where for lacke of wood they are inforced to continue this auncient manner of buylding. It is not in vayne, therefore, in speaking of buylding to make a distinction betweene the playne and woddye countrie, for as in these, our houses are commonly strong and well timbered, so that in many places there are not above six or nine inches betweene studdes and studdes; so in the open and champaine soyles they are inforced for want of stufle to use no studdes at all, but only raysines, groundselles, transomes, and upright principalles, with here and there an overthwart post in their walles whereunto they fasten their splintes or rables, and then cast it all over with clay to keepe out the winde, which otherwyse would annoy them. In like sort as every country house is thus appareled on the outside, so is it inwardly devided into sundrie rowmes above and beneth, and where plentie of woode is they cover them with tyles, otherwise with

For the better accommodation of the citizens of Bristol, and the inhabitants in its vicinity, the market in St. Thomas-street was opened in 1570, by the

straw, sedge, or reede, except some quarry of slate be near hand, from whence they have for theyr money, so much as may suffice them. The clay wherewith our houses are empanneiled is eyther white, redde, or blewe; and of these the first doth participate very much with the nature of our chalke; the seconde is called lome; but the thirde eftsoones changeth coulour so soone as it is wrought, notwithstanding that it looke blewe when it is throwne out of the pit. Of chalke also we have our excellent whyte lime made in most places, wherewith we stricke over our clay workes and stone walles, in cities, good townes, rich fermers, and gentlemen's houses.

Within their doores also, such as are of abilitie do oft make their flowers and parget of fine alabaster burned, which they call plaster of Paris, whereof in some places we have great plentie, and that very profitable agaynst the rage of fire. In plastering likewise of our fayrest houses over our heades, we use to lay first a lair or two of white mortar tempered with heire upon lathes, which are nayled one by another, and fynallye cover all with the aforesayde plaster, which beside the delectable whitenesse of the stuffe itselfe, is layed on so even and smouthly as nothing in my judgment can be done with more exactnesse. This also hath bene comon in England, contrarie to the customes of all other nations, and yet to be seene (for example, in most streetes of London,) that many of our greatest houses have outwardly beene very simple and plaine to sight, which inwardly have beene able to receive a duke, with his whole trayne, and lodge them at their ease.

Hereby moreover it is come to passe, that the frontes of our streetes have not beene so uniforme and orderly buylded as those of forrain cities, where to saye truth the utterside of theyr mansions and dwellings, have oft more cost bestowed upon them, then all the reast of the house, which are often very simple and uneasie within, as experience doth confirme. Of olde tyme our country houses insteede of glasse dyd use much lattice, and that made eyther of wicker or fine riftes of oke in chekerwysc. I read also that some of the better sorte in and before the tymes of the Saxons did make panels of horne insteede of glasse, and fix them in woodden calmes; but as horne is quite layd downe in every place, so our lattices are also growne into lesse use, bycause glasse is come to be so plentifull, and within a very little so good cheape as the other.

Heretofore also the houses of our princes and noblemen were often gased with beril, (an example whereof is yet to be seene in Sudley Castell) and in divers other places with fine cristall; but this especially in the time of the Romaines, whereof also some fragments have been taken up in olde ruines. But now these are not in use, so that onely the clearest glasse is most esteemed, for we have divers sortes, some brought out of Burgundie, some out of Normandy, and much out of Flaunders, beside that which is made in England so good as the best, and each one that may, will have it for his building. Moreover, the mansion houses of our country townes and villages, (which in champaine grounde stande altogether by streetes, and joining one to another; but in woodelande soyles dispersed here and there, each one upon the several groundes of their owners are builded in suche sorte generally, as that they have neither dairy, stable, nor bruehouse, annexed unto them under the same rooffe, (as in many places beyonde the sea) but all separate from the first, and one of them from another. And yet for

following proclamation, at the High Cross. " Whereas it hath pleased the queen's majesty, for gracious respects, to grant unto themayor and commonalty

all this, they are not so farre distant in sunder, but that the good man lying in his bed may lightly heare what is done in each of them with ease, and call quickly unto his mency if any danger shoulde attacke hym.

The auncient maners and houses of our gentlemen are yet and for the most part of stroug tymber. Howbeit such as be lately buylded are commonly either of bricke or harde stone, their rowmes large and stately, and houses of office farder distaunt fro their lodgings. Those of the nobility are likewise wrought with bricke and hard stone, as provision may best be: but so magnificent and stately, as the basest house of a barren doth often match with some honours of princes in olde tyme, so that if ever curious buylding dyd flourish in Englande, it is in these our dayes, wherein our worckmen excell, and are in manner comparable in skill with olde Vitruvius, and Serlo.

The furniture of our houses also exceedeth, and is growne in manner even to passing delicacie; and herein I do not speake of the nobilitie and gentrie onely, but even of the lowest sorte that have any thing at all to take to. Certes in noblemen's houses it is not rare to see abundance of arras, riche hangings of tapistry, silver vessell, and so much other plate, as may furnish sundrie cupbords to the summes oft times of a thousand or two thousand pounce at least: whereby the value of this and the reast of their stuffe doth grow to be inestimable. Likewise in the houses of knightes, gentlemen, marchauntmen, and some other wealthie citizens, it is not geson to beholde generallye there great provision of tapestrie, Turkeye worke, pewter, brasse, fine linen, and therto costly cupbords of plate worthe five or six hundred pounce, to be deemed by estimation. But as herein all these sortes doe farre exceede there elders, and predecessours, so in time past, the costly furniture stayed there, whereas now it is descended yet lower, even into the inferiour artificers and most farmers, who have learned also to garnish their cupbordes with plate, their beddes with tapistrie, and silk hangings, and their tables with fine naperie, whereby the wealth of our countrie doth infinitely appeare. Neyther do I speake this in reproch of any man God is my judge, but to show that I doe rejoyce rather to see how God hath blessed us with his good giftes, and to behould how that in a time wherein all thinges are growen to most excessive prices, we do yet finde the meanes to obtayne and atchieve such furniture as heretofore hath been impossible.

There are olde men yet dwelling in the village where I remayne, which have noted those things to be marveyulously altered in Englande, within their sound remembraunce. One is the multitude of chimnies lately erected, whereas in their young dayes there were not above two or three, if so many, in most uplandish townes of the realme, (the religious houses and manour places of their lordes always excepted, and peradventure some great personages) but each one made his fire against a rechesse, in the hall where he dined and dressed his meate. The second is y^e great amendement of lodginge, for sayde they, our fathers and we ourselves have lyen full oft upon straw pallettes covered onely with a sheete under coverlettes made of bagswain or hoparlots (I use thei owne termes) and a good rounde logge under their heades insteade of a boulder. If it were so that our father or the good man of the house, had a materes or flockbed, and thereto a sacke of chafe to rest hys heade upo

of this city of Bristol, and to their successors for ever, a market to be kept weekly in St. Thomas-street, within the parish of St. Thomas, for wool, yarn, and cattle, and all things there to be bought and sold, by her grace's letters patents, bearing date the 14th of December, in the thirteenth year of her reign. Know ye, therefore, that we, William Tucker, mayor of this city, and the aldermen of the same, do by virtue of the said letters patents, give understanding and knowledge unto all her majesty's loving subjects, that the said market shall begin to be holden and kept in the city of Bristol, in St. Thomas-street, upon the Thursday next and after the Annunciation of our Lady, in Lent now coming, in the present year of her majesty's reign, and so

he thought himselfe to be as well lodged as the lorde of the towne, so well were they contented. Pillowes, sayde they, were thought meete onely for women in childebed. As for servantes, if they had any sheete above them, it was well, for seldome had they any under their bodies, to keepe them from the pricking strawes, that ranne oft thorow the canvas, and rased their hardened hides.

The thirde thinge they tell of, is the exchange of treene platters into pewter, and woode spoones into silver or tin. For so common were all sorts of treene vesselles in old time, that a man should hardly find four peces of pewter (of which one was peradventure a salte) in a goode farmer's house, and yet for al this frugaltie (if it may so be justly called) they were scarce able to lyve and paye their rentes, at their dayes without selling a cow, or a horse, or mare, although they payde foure poundes at the uttermost by the yeare. Such also was their poverty, that if a fermour or husbandman had beene at the alehouse, a thyng greatly used in those dayes, amongst six or seaven of hys neyghbours, and there in a bravery to shewe what store he had, did cast downe hys purse and therein a noble or sixe shillings in silver unto them, it was very likely that all the rest could not lay downe so much against it: whereas in my tyme although peradventure foure pounce of olde rent be improved to forty or fiftye pound; yet will the farmour thinke his gains very small toward the middest of his terme) if he have not sixe or seaven yeres rent lying by him, wherewith to purchase a new lease, beside a fine garnishe of pewter on his cupborde, three or foure feather beddes, so many coverlettes and carpettes of tapistrie, a siver salte, a bowle for wine (if not a whole neast) and a dussen of spoones to furnish up the sute. Thys also he taketh to bee his own cleare, for what stocke of money soever he gathereth in all his yeares, it is often seene, that the landlorde will take such order with him for the same, when he reneweth his lease (which is comm only eight or ten years before it be expyred, sith it is nowe growen allmoste a custome, that if he come not to his lorde long before, another shall step in for a reversion, and so defeate him outright) that it shall never trouble him more then the heare of his bearde, when the barber hath washed and shaven it from his chinne.

it shall continue. God save the Queen.”—This year the Earl of Bedford, and his son, came to Bristol, attended by a retinue of many knights.

In 1571, Queen Elizabeth gave the chapel of St. Mary, in the church-yard of St. Mary Redcliff, to the parishioners, for a free grammar and writing school. It is adorned with a statue of the royal donor, and supported by many benefactions.

The year 1572 is memorable in the annals of Bristol, for the first incorporation of the city companies. The mayor for this year changed the watch which was kept on Midsummer night and St. Peter's night, into a general muster of the burgesses on St. John's and St. Peter's days. The city companies mustered with arms, under their proper ensigns, and performed the military exercise; and this establishment of trained bands was occasioned by the hostile preparations of the Spaniards for the invasion of England.

On the 14th of August, 1573, Queen Elizabeth came, in her progress through the kingdom, to Bristol, where she was received with great pomp and solemnity by the mayor, aldermen, and incorporated companies formed under their proper ensigns. The mayor carried the sword of state before her majesty, bareheaded, and attended her to Mr. John Young's, on St. Augustine's Back. During the procession, all ranks of people testified their joy at the condescension of the royal visitor, by acclamations, and other demonstrations of loyalty and attachment. At her departure she conferred the honour of knighthood on Mr. Young. The following curious account of the reception of the queen in Bristol, and the amusements for her gratification, is at once entertaining and illustrative of the manners and sentiments then prevalent in this city.*

* This description is taken from a pamphlet entitled “The whole order howe our Sovereigne Ladye Queene Elizabeth was received into the Citie of Bristowe, 1574, and the speeches spoken before her presens at her Entry. Devised and published only by Thomas Churchyard, Gent. Imprinted at London, in Flete-streate, near unto Saint Dunstan's Church, by Thomas Marsh, 1575.”

" At the Highe Crosse, in a disguised manner, stood Faem, very orderly set forth, and spoke as followeth, by an excellent boy.

" Ne flete of foot, nor swift of wyng, nor skarce the thought in brest,
 " Nor yet the arrowe out of boe, nor wynd that seld doth rest ;
 " Compares with me, quick world's report, that som call flying Faem,
 " A bruit of praise, a blast of pomp, a blazer of good naem,
 " The only lawd that kings do seek, a joy to catch estaet,
 " A welcome friend that all men loves, and noen alive doth haet.
 " Salutes the Queen, of rare renown, whose goodly gifts devien,
 " Throw earth and air with glory great shall passe this trump of mien.
 " And knowing of thy coming here, my duety bad me goe,
 " Before unto this present place, the news thereof to shoe.
 " No sooner was pronounst the name, but babes in street gan leap,
 " The youth, the age, the ritch, the poor, cam runninge all on heap,
 " And clapping hands, cried maynly out ' O blessed be the owre !
 " Our Queen is comyng to the towne, with princely trayn and poure.'
 " Then collors cast they o'er the walls, and deckt old housis gaye,
 " Out flew the bags about afayres that long a herding laye,
 " Asid they set their townish trashe, and works of gredy gayen,
 " And torn'd their toils to sports and mirth, and warlike pastimes playn,
 " As shall be seen to morn in feeld, if that your Highness pleas ;
 " Where dutie hath devis'd by art a shoe on land and seas.
 " To other matter yet unknown that shall explained be
 " By such dom sights and shoes of war as thear your Grace shall se.
 " Thus subjects mean to honor Prince, whose sight thy have enjoy'd,
 " Most glad hit is thear hap to have their service so employed."

" Then Faem flung up a great garland, to the rejoicing of the beholders. At the next gate and near her Highness lodgings, stood III other boyes, called Salutacion, Gratulacion, and Obedient Good-Will: and two of these boyes spoke as followe, and all three drue their swords when it was named, *the hoel Staet is reddie to defend against all dissencions a peaceable prince.*

SALUTACION THE FIRST BOYE.

" All hayll, O plant of grace, and speshall ~~to~~ ^{to} them,
 " Most welcome to this western coest, O perl and princely Daem,
 " As loe a custom is whear humble subjects dwell,
 " When Prynce approacheth neer their vew for joy to ring their bells;

" So all that beareth lief in Bristowe now this daye
 „ Salutes the Queen from depth of breast with welcome ev'ry way,
 " And we poor silly boyes, that cam from skool of late,
 " Rejoice and clap our hands withall, as members of thy staet, &c."

* * * * *

" After these speeches wear ended, III hundred soldiers well appoynted wayted on her Highness to her lodgyng, and thear she beyng settled, they shot off thear peecees in passyng good order, at which warning the great artillry went of, a hundred and xxx cast peecees, and so the watch changed, and a hundred shot apoynted for her gard, her Highness rested that night, whear she lay all the season in Sir John Yong's house.

" A fort was made beyond the water in a ground fit for that purpose, to which piel the soldiers of the main fort did repayre. Now must be understood that Dissension passing between War and Peace had certain speeches in vers, which could not be said in the hearing of the Prince, wherefore they were put into a book and presented.

" The Sunday next the Queen went to the Colledge, to hear a Sarmond, whaer thear was a speetch to be sayd and an imme to be songe; the speetch was left out by an occasion unlook'd for, but the imme was songe by a very fien boye.

" A skafold the next day was set up full over against the fort; and the Prince being placed, after which was warres in such a store, that you might see the feelde all overspread with soldiers as they marched down a hill full against the little fort, and repulsing in all the soldiers of the same, wan it with great furie, and so rased it, and overthrew it down to the earth.

" The mayn fort in the mean while did send sutch suker as they might: but prevaylyng not, they wear in like sort driven back, and thear fort besieged and mutch ado abut the saem, which drove out that day, and then by torch light the Prince from her skaffold went to her lodgyng, and in the mean season som fier-works wear seen, and the watch was changed.

" The second day was thaer maed a new aprocht to the mayn fort; for a better order of warre, and to the ayde of the fort, cam divers gentylmen of good callyng from the court, which maed the shoe very gallant, and set out the matter mutch.

" Now served the tied, and up the water from Kyng-road cam three brave galleys, chasing a ship that cam with vittayls to the fort. The fort seyng that their extremitie within was great, sent a gentilman to the prince for ayd, who brought her a book covered with green velvet, which uttered the whoell substance of this device.

" So he departed, and all this while the business was great about the fort, and in a wonders bravery the broyll continued, with a shoe of fight on land and sea, till the very night approtched, at which time the Prince parted, and stoed marvelously well contented with that she had seen.

" Now you must conceyve that warres waxt a weery, and that neither the fort, nor the wickedness of the world (which warres represented) were desirous of further trobuls, but rather glad to have the matter taken up on any reasonable conditions, for which purpose was devised that Perswasion should go and tell his taell (to the Citie) and unfold what follies and conflicts rise in civill broyle, and that quietness comes by a mutual love and agrement.

THE CITIES ANSWER TO PERSWASION.

" Dissention first that cal'd to mind our old foerfathers faem,
 " And ript up seams of patched prayers, skarce worth the noet or naem,
 " Brought peace and warre in this uproar, our ruels sutch brawls denies,
 " Our traed doth stand on siville lief, and thear our glory lies;
 " And not on strife, the ruen of staets, a storm that all destroys,
 " A heavy bondage to catch hart, that Freedom's fruet enjoys;
 " Our orders makes the royster meek, and plucks the proud on knees,
 " The stif and stubborne kno the yoke, and roots up rotten trees,
 " That may infect a fruitful field: what can be sweet or sownd,
 " But in that soyl whear for offence is due correction fownd?
 " Wee make the siville laws to shien, and by example mild,
 " Reform the rued, rebuke the bold, and tame the country wield.
 " We venter goods and lieves, ye knoe, and travill seas and land,
 " To bring by traffick heaps of wealth and treasuer to your hand.
 " We are a stay and stoerhouse both to kingdoms farr and neer,
 " A cause of plentie throw foresyght whan things wax scarce and deer,
 " And thoughe our joy be most in peace, and peace we do maintain,
 " Whereon to prince and realm throwout does rise great welth and gain;
 " Yet have we soldyars, as you see, that stoers but when we pleas,
 " And sarves our towns in houshold things, and sits in shop at eas.
 " And yet daer blaed hit with the best, when cawse of country coms,
 " And calls out courage to the fight by sound of warlike droms.
 " We marchants keep a mean unmixt with any jarring part
 " And bring both treble and the baess in order still by art.
 " A souldiour shal be liked wel, if his dezarts be sutch,
 " A noble mind for noble acts shall suer be honor'd mutch,
 " But if men glory all in warres, and peace disdayns indeed,
 " We skorn with any siroep sweet their humour sowre to feed,

" And blest be God, we have a prince by whom our peace is kept,
 " And under whom this Citie long and land hath safly slept;
 " From whom likewyse a thousand gifts of grace enjoy we doe,
 " And feel from God in this her rayne ten thousand blessings too.
 " Behold but how all secrets fier of falshed coms to light
 " In these her dayes, and God taks part with her in troeth and right
 " And mark how mad dissention thrives, that would set warre abroetch
 " Who sets to saell poor people's lives, and gets but vile reproetch,
 " And endless shame for all their sleights, O England joy with us,
 " And kis the steps where she doth tread, that keeps her country thus
 " In peace and rest, and perfect stay; whearfore the God of Peace,
 " In peace by peace our peace preserve, and her long lief encrease."

" This was to be done and put in exercises before the Queen cam to the knitting up of the matter; but perswasion being dismist, the battry was planted befoer the fort, and they within so straitly enclosed that they must needs abied the mercy of the sword and cannon.

" At which instant, in the afternoon that present day, the prince was in her skaffold, to behold the successe of these offers of warre; and so went the battry off and the assault was given in as mutch order as might be; the enemie was three times repulsed, and beholdyng new succurs commyng from the court to the fort's great comfort, the enemie agreed on a parley, whearin was rehersed that the cortain was beaten down, and the fort made sawtable, and yet the enemie to save the lives of good citizens and soldiors therof, would give them leave to depart with bag and багаег, as orders of warre required. To the which the fort maed answer, that the cortains nor bulwarks were their defens, but the corrage of a good peple, and the force of a mighty Prince (who saet and beheld all these doyngs) was the thing they trusted to, in which answer the enemie retired, and so conditions of peace were drawn and agreed of, at which peace both the sides shot off their artillerie, in sien of a triomphe, and so crying "*God save the Queen*," these triumphs and warlike pastims finished. The prince, liking the handlyng of these causes verie well, sent two hundreth crowns to mak the souldiers a banket. Now here is to be considered that the prince went into the gallees, and so down to Kingroed (for Wales) aer these things wear brought to an end.

" At her Highness departure a gentilman in the confiens of the town's liberties spaek this speech that follows,

THE DOLEFULL A DUE.

" Our joy is joyn'd with grevous groens, our triumphe torn'd to tears,
 " The brantch whose blossoms gladnes broght a bitter berry bears.
 " In house and street whcar mirth was hard is moen and moorning noies,
 " The summer day is dim'd with clowds, eclypsed are our joys.
 " The loed star leavs our wished cowrs, and clims the heavens high,
 " Our sofrant wile no longer lord in walls of Bristow lie.

" Long look'd this citie for a prince, long sens and many a year,
 " A King and Queen beheld this town, short time she taryes haer.
 " Good fortune follow thee O Queen! and gied thy doings all,
 " A world of threefold blessed happ upon thy kingdom fall!
 " As loeth to taek our heavy leave, as leave our lives indeed;
 " A due deer Lady of this Land; the living Lord thee speed!"

According to an ancient manuscript the plague was very hot in this city in 1574, but the particulars of the mortality are unrecorded. During the fair of St. James's, in 1574, several seamen stole out of Crogan-Pill a bark, with an intent to rob the passengers that came in other vessels from Bristol. But their daring piracy proved unsuccessful, and they abandoned the vessel on the coast of Wales, where four of them were taken and brought to this city. On the 25th of September, they were arraigned and condemned; one of them was pardoned, but the others were executed on a gibbet in Cannon's Marsh, opposite Gib-Taylor, at the point near the river.

Among the numerous benefactions and bequests of benevolent citizens to the different charitable establishments of Bristol, may be mentioned the sum of two thousand pounds, bequeathed by Sir John Gresham, of London, in 1577, to purchase land for the benefit of the poor clothiers of this city.

The increase of the population and extent of Bristol requiring a greater number of magistrates for the due administration of justice, the Queen, in the year 1581, granted the citizens a new charter; by which they were empowered to nominate six additional Aldermen, and to divide the city into twelve wards, over which eleven Aldermen and the Recorder presided.

The advantages obtained by the merchants of Bristol, from the fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, animated them to the prosecution of another voyage of discovery to the western hemisphere. Accordingly, in 1583, they solicited

the royal permission, to fit out one vessel of sixty, and another of forty tons, for the coast of America, S. W. of Cape Breton. They also offered one thousand marks for the service of the state, and received an answer from Sir Francis Walsingham, her Majesty's principal secretary, in which their zeal and public spirit was highly praised. It does not appear, however, that they realized this scheme.

This was indeed a most remarkable epoch in the history of English commercial and maritime adventure. The East India Company, and Turkey Company were incorporated in 1579; in the subsequent year Sir Francis Drake returned from his voyage round the world; and in 1583, Sir Walter Raleigh settled a colony in North America, which he named Virginia in honour of the Queen.

Among the number of eminent men who adorned England, during the reign of Elizabeth, the learned Camden was pre-eminent for his knowledge of British topography; nay he may justly be considered as the first satisfactory writer on that subject. The itineraries of Antoninus and Leland are evidently defective, when compared with the *Britannia* of Camden. That work is indeed a most elaborate and valuable description of the British islands; the documents were collected with incredible application and perseverance during ten years; and the first edition was published in 1586, dedicated to that patriotic statesman, Lord Burleigh. In the progress of his great topographical work, Camden collected a considerable portion of his materials from actual observation; and the following description of Bristol at that period, translated from his *Britannia*, is truly curious and interesting, affording an entertaining account of the city, its vicinity, and the state of its commerce.

“ The river Avon parts Bristol in the middle. It was called by the Britons *Caer Oder Nant Badon*, or the city *Odera* in *Badon* valley. In Antoninus's

catalogue of ancient cities, it is named *Caer Brito*; and in Saxon, *Brightstowe*, that is a famous place. But those who have affirmed it to be the *Venta Belgarum*, have probably imposed both upon themselves and the world.

“ This city is situated partly in Somersetshire, and partly in Gloucestershire, but it does not properly belong to either, having distinct magistrates, and being a county incorporate by itself. It stands upon pretty high ground, between the Avon and the little river Frome, and is well defended with walls and rivers. It was formerly enclosed with a double wall. The general appearance both of its public and private buildings is beautiful and magnificent. Its streets are clean, and the filth is conveyed to the river by *Cloacæ*, or what the inhabitants call gouts, which are built in subterraneous caverns; in consequence of which, carts or other heavy carriages are not used here. Nothing is deficient in Bristol, with respect to neatness or convenience in the streets and houses; it is so populous, and well supplied with the necessities of life, that next to London and York, it may justly claim a pre-eminence over all the cities in Britain. In consequence of its advantageous situation for commerce, and the excellence of the harbour, by which large vessels under sail are admitted at high water into the very heart of the city, the trade of many nations is drawn hither. The citizens themselves carry on a profitable trade with the different nations of Europe, and make voyages to the most remote regions of America.

“ At what time and by whom the city of Bristol was built, is hard to say; but *it seems* to be of late date, since during the piratical invasion of the Danes, it is not so much as mentioned in our histories. I am of opinion, that it rose on the decline of the Saxon government, since it is first mentioned in the year of our Lord 1063, when Harold (according to Florence of Worcester) set sail from *Brytstow* to invade Wales.

“ In the beginning of the Norman times *Berton* an adjoining farm and *Bristow*, according to the record in doomsday book, paid to the king 110 marks of silver, and the burgesses returned that bishop G. had 33 marks and one of gold. Afterwards Robert, bishop of Constance, plotting against William Rufus, chose this for a seat of war, and fortified the city with that inner wall, part of which yet remains. In a few years afterwards, the suburbs were enlarged on every side, and Radcliff on the south, is joined to the rest of the city by a stone bridge, on each side of which a row of houses gives it the appearance of a street. This part is included within the walls, and the inhabitants have the privileges of citizens.

“ In this city there are neat churches, built for the glory of God, and hospitals for the relief of the poor. Among the churches, the most beautiful is St. Mary's of Radcliffe, without the walls, to which there is a stately ascent by many stone stairs. This edifice is so large, and the gothic workmanship so exquisite, the roof so artificially vaulted with stone, and the tower so high, that in my opinion, it much excels all the parish churches in England that I have yet seen. In it the founder, William Cannings, has two honorary monuments; the one is his image in the habit of a magistrate, for he was five times mayor of this city—the other represents him in a clerical habit, for in his latter days he took orders, and was nominated to the deanery of the college which he founded at Westbury. In the vicinity of this church there is another called Temple, the tower of which vibrates when the bells are rung, insomuch that there is a chink from top to bottom, between it and the body of the church, of three fingers breadth, alternately growing narrower and broader according to the vibration of the bells.

“ St. Stephen's church is remarkable for its stately tower of curious workmanship, which was, in the memory of our grandfathers, built by John Barstaple, a rich merchant of Bristol.


“ On the northern and eastern parts, the city was also enlarged with many buildings included within the walls, being defended by the river Frome; which after it has passed these walls, runs calmly into the Avon, forming a great harbour for shipping, and a creek convenient to load and unload merchandize, which the citizens call the Quay. Under this, near the confluence between the Avon and the Frome, there is a considerable space called the Marsh, which is planted with trees, and affords a pleasant walk to the citizens.

“ At the south-east, where the rivers did not encompass Bristol, Robert, illegitimate son of Henry I. built a large and strong castle for the defence of his city, and out of a pious inclination, appropriated every tenth stone for the erection of a chapel, near the priory of St. James, which he also erected near the city. He married Mabile, daughter and sole heir of Robert Fitz-hamon, who held this city in fealty of William the Norman. This castle, when scarcely finished, was unsuccessfully besieged by King Stephen; who not many years after being made a prisoner there, was a fair instance of the uncertain events of war.

“ Beyond the river Frome, over which at Frome-gate is a bridge, a steep hill in the suburbs affords a pleasant prospect of the subjacent city and harbour. On the top of this hill there is a large green plain, with a grove in the middle, where there is a pulpit of stone, and a chapel, in which, according to tradition, Jordan, the companion of St. Augustin the English apostle, was buried; but it is now a free school.

“ This city, not to mention the private houses, is beautified on all sides with magnificent public buildings. On one side with a collegiate church, called Gaunt's, from its founder Sir Henry Gaunt, Knight; who quitting temporal affairs, here dedicated himself to God. Now by the munificence of T. Carre, a wealthy citizen, it is converted into an hospital for orphans. On the other side, opposite this hospital, are two churches dedicated to St. Augustin; the one but

small and a parish church—the other larger, and the bishop's cathedral, adorned by King Henry VIII. with six prebendaries. The greatest part of it is now pulled down; and the college gate, which indeed is curiously built, has the following inscription: “Rex Henricus secundus et Dominus Robertus filius Hardigni filii Regis Daciæ hujus monasterii primi fundatores extiterunt.” That is, “King Henry II. and Lord Robert, the son of Harding, son to the King of Denmark, were the first founders of this monastery.” Robert Harding's son of the blood royal of Denmark, was an alderman of Bristol, and so high in favour with King Henry, that according to the advice of the sovereign, his son Maurice was married to the daughter of the lord of Berkley; whence his posterity, who flourished in great pomp, are to this day called Barons of Berkley, some of whom are buried in this church.

“At a short distance from Bristol towards the sea, where the Avon runs, there are high rocks on both sides of the river, as if nature had formed them with particular skill. One of these rocks, which hangs over the river on the east side, is called St. Vincent's, which yields abundance of diamonds, insomuch that bushels of them may be obtained; but their number lessens their value among , for in transparency they are equal to the gems imported from India, and do not yield to them in any property except hardness. Their being formed by nature into four or six angles, in my opinion, renders them more admirable than the productions of the foreign mines. The other rock, on the western side, is likewise full of diamonds, which by a wonderful operation of nature, are contained in hollow reddish flints. The Avon, after it has passed by these rocks, disembogues itself into the broad estuary of the Severn.”

The most important political event, during the long and auspicious reign of Elizabeth, was the total defeat of the Spanish Armada, in 1588, off the coast of England. On this glorious occasion, the citizens of Bristol fitted out four ships of war, named the Unicorn, the Minion, the Handmaid, and the Ayde, which

joined the royal fleet at Plymouth, and shared in the danger and glory of a contest with the Spanish fleet, which, from its magnitude and force, was vauntingly called by the Spaniards, "*The Invincible Armada*." But, like the Invincibles of Bonaparte, those proud braggarts were vincible by Britons. Let then the descendants of those heroic warriors who so nobly signalized themselves in defence of their country, their liberties, and their religion, under the animating influence of one of the most illustrious women that ever called forth the spirit of chivalry, look forward with confidence in the protection of the GREAT BEING whose OMNIPOTENCE has hitherto preserved them from foreign hostility. Well may they adopt the grateful sentiments of the poet apostrophizing his country.

" His POWER secur'd thee when presumptuous Spain

" Baptiz'd her fleet Invincible in vain ;

" Her gloomy monarch, doubtful and resign'd

" To ev'ry pang, that racks an anxious mind,

" Ask'd of the waves, that broke upon his coast,

" What tydings? and the surge replied—All lost !"

Never did the characteristic heroism of the English, and their attachment to their sovereign, appear with more lustre than in their preparations to repel the Spaniards, both by sea and land. The fleet under the command of Admiral Lord Howard and Vice-Admirals Drake, Hawkins, and Forbisher, engaged the Spanish Armada on the 23d of July, 1588, and captured fifteen large ships, and 4791 men, and the principal part of the remainder being dispersed by a storm on the coast of Ireland, seventeen ships and 5394 men, were taken in the month of September. The residue were either wrecked, or returned with difficulty to Spain.

Three armies, amounting to 76,000 infantry, and 3000 cavalry, were stationed along the southern coast, and at different points where the enemy might attempt to land. The queen went to the camp, exhorted the soldiers to the valiant defence of their country, and avowed her intention to venture her life in the common cause. But the victory obtained at sea prevented an invasion ; and

the 24th of November, being the day appointed by her majesty for a general thanksgiving to Almighty God, for his providential deliverance of the kingdom from foreign tyranny and slavery, was kept in this city with the greatest solemnity by the magistracy, and the citizens in general, “ The mayor and corporation, in their scarlet robes, attended by the city companies, with their ensigns, went to the College to hear a sermon, after which the magistrates received the sacrament, and distributed money to the poor.” This account presents a pleasing picture of simplicity of manners and pious gratitude.

The destruction of the Spanish fleet was indeed a proper subject for the exultation of the English ; had the ambitious project of the Catholic monarch for the subjugation of England, been successful, the most cruel persecution that bigotry could devise, would undoubtedly have inflicted misery on the people ; but the signal defeat of this mighty armament established the security of the kingdom for ages.

Queen Elizabeth was now in the zenith of her glory, swaying the sceptre over a free, gallant, and grateful people, surrounded by heroes and sages whose wisdom and valour were devoted to her service, and commanding the admiration or the awe of surrounding nations. Spain, baffled and defeated, was unable to renew hostilities ; France, torn by intestine commotions, was incapable of hostility against this country ; Scotland was under the dominion of a youthful sovereign, who, naturally pusillanimous, and consequently pacific, felt no inclination to disturb the Queen of England, from whom he expected the bequest of the crown of this kingdom ; and even the Pope himself, whatever might be his animosity against Elizabeth, was unable to contend with her without the aid of Spain, or some other potent Catholic kingdom. As for the infant republic of Holland, it was devoted to the cause of England, as far as the rivalry of a maritime state would permit.

During this period of general tranquillity in England, the arts and manufactures of the country made a successful progress ; the queen, who was a zealous patriot, and intent on the prosperity of her people, was extremely frugal of the public money ; hence taxes were few, trade good, and the community enjoyed the fruits of prosperous industry, without being subject to the exorbitant exactions of statesmen. The happiness of the people became proverbial, and “ *the golden days of good Queen Bess* ” were afterwards the topic of national praise and regret, during the tyrannic government of the House of Stuart. Queen Elizabeth endeavoured to promote the prosperity and commerce of several small sea-ports in England, doubtless under the influence of the purest patriotism ; among others, the towns situated on the banks of the Severn were made independent ports ; and the following petition was presented by the corporation of Bristol to her majesty’s council, entreating the repeal of a grant so ruinous in its consequences to this city.

“ Brystowe is scytuated in an angle betweene the counties of Somerset and Gloucester, mayntened only by the trade of merchandizes, and making and ventinge collored cloths for the sea, made in Bristowe and in Somersetshire, wherewith many thousands of handy craftsmen have been set a worke and mayntened, and they have also great store of ledde out of Somersetshire, with which their trade of merchandizes they have alwaies sufficiently furnished all the counties adjoining to the said river, as also all towns and counties lyinge upon and near aboute the river of Severn, and the creeks of the same, as farre inwarde towards the land as to the town of Shrewsbury.

“ There is belonging to Bristowe, between Somerset and Gloucestershire, a sufficient port for shippes of all burdens to ryde and fleete in, wherein hathe bynne buildyd and maynten’d from time to time as many great serviceable shippes as in any poorte in this her majesty’s dominion (London excepted,) and there have been broughte and trayned uppe as many and skilful maryners

as to suche shippinge should belong, and more which serve in divers other places.

“ There have been belonging to the sayde cityes and poorte of Bristowe, tyme oute of mynde (as the records of the Exchequer doe prove and shewe, and for th’ advoydinge of dyversityc of accomptes so confirmed) all the creeke upon the river of Severn inwards towards the land, as Barkeley, Gatcombe, Newenham, Gloucester, Tewkesburye, and all other the creeks and pills extending as farre upward as Wygorn, bye and thoroughe which creeks the sayd city had their chefest vente for all manner of forren merchandizes as farre as Shrewesburye, and from the same creeke also the sayde citye and citizens have had their chiefest provision of graine and other victualles.

“ Out of the said city by reason of their trades, portes, and creekes, the queen’s majesty reccaveth yerely, for feefarms, fifteenes, customs, subsidies, impostes, and other duties, great somes of money, and the shippes of the sayde city and citizens have had their chiefest provisions of graine and other victualles.

“ But so yt is, right honourable, that all the said creekes (uppon an untrew suggestion), byn by her majesty’s letters patent, of late taken from the said city and porte of Bristoll, and are become a poorte of themselves to the imynente ruin of the said city, impoverishinge of the said artificers, anayne of the shippinge and mariners, hindrance of the queen’s majesty’s customs, duties, and profits, bringinge and raisinge of dearth and scarsetye, encouraging and encreasinge of pyrotts, and other great inconveniencies.

“ The parliament house, anno 34, Hen. VIII. was enformed and well understood how grayne was convayed over the seas by small barkes of the river of Severn, and the rode for shippes greatlie hurte by castenge oute ballaste, and taking in corne which came out of the creekes, and therefore

for the better searche and restrynte appoynted the same to be brought and measured at Bristoll, before it should be transported.

“ Gloucester is no place for trade or merchandize, because they have no lawfull wares meete to be transported in shippes servicable, or defensible to transporte and retorne merchandize if they had any.

“ Gloucester standeth upon other good trades and concourse of people, whereby they have been well mayntened ; but yf they adventure any thing at sea, the same is in small barkes with corne and prohibited wares, wherewith they make more profitable retournes then Bristoll wythe there great shippinge and lawful wares can doe.

“ Gloucester standeth between Bristoll and Wigorn Warr’ (i. e. Warwick,) Coventry, and Shrewburie, and all other places upp Severn, where the merchants of Bristoll did usually make their vente of such commodities as they bringe from beyond seas ; but yf the same continues a poorte, they doe not only serve themselves, but also those other counties and towns aboute them, and so the trade of Bristoll and their great shippes, when the vente of their commodyties is taken from them must consequently decaye.

“ The more tradinge or discharginge places, the greater concealmente and stelthe of her majesty’s customes, and conveyinge awaic of prohibyted wares in small barkes, and therefore was yt provided for in the statute and decree, that nothing should be laden or discharged upon Severn, but only at Bristoll, and certain small places whereof the officers of Bristoll had special charge, as by the same more at large doth appere.

“ The chefest place of ladinge and discharging for Gloucester was a place called Gatcombe, which is sixteen miles downewardes the sea, before the officers

of Gloucester, and within little as near to the porte of Bristowe, which is between them and the sea; and this hath not depth of water, but for a shippe of fiftie tonnes, which cannot come thither laden but at highe springe tydes in fayre wether, with a good pylott, and cannot continue ther many yers without spoyle and ruin, and no officer dwelling nigher than Gloucester; neither is it anie town or popelous village to discerie or understand, howe her majestie is deceived, and the county spoyled of grayne.

“ It is more conveniente that the creeke upp Severn do belong to the port of Bristoll, and be under their controllement, then to Gloucester, or be a port of themselves, because Bristoll standeth in nede of the grayne and victualls, which Gloucester and the counties upon Severn do abound in and can spare.

“ When the deputies of Gloucester delivered their books to the officers of Bristoll, they were then able to find their Orforders, and to reforme them, mete with them, and staye their passage, which now they cannot do.

“ The barkes upp Severn be so small, that they pay no tonnage to the peere of Dover according to the statute, as appeareth by their books, and their owners be corn-merchants and fermers; and these small barkes will shippe away, come and goe at every meane tyde, and so may deceave as much as they will, yf the officer of Brystowe have no authoritye to meet and searche them.

“ The city of Brystowe, which in time past hadd the most part of their grayne from upp Severne, have not had, within three yeres after the erection of the custom-house at Gloucester, ten quarters of wheat from them, and have been restrayned of grayne to come to Bristoll; so as when they have occasion, they must nowe travell to Gloucester for a cockett, and there put in sureties; and yf they obtayne it, the same is not without great difficulty, which is a great overthrowe, and chaunge to the said city of Bristoll.

“ Irishe men also with their barkes have found a directe trade to Gloucester, and all to shippe away corn, and soe we lose the benefit of their commodyties, and the utteringe of our owne, another great decaie to us.

“ The servicable shippes of Bristoll have and must serve her majestie upon all occasion, to their great hindrance and charges, and in the meane time the said barkes of Severne are free, and do spoyle the countrie of grayne and victualls, for they are out of the controllment of Bristoll, which do lack the same corn and grayne.

“ When the creek of Severne belonged to Bristowe, their corn, grayne, and victualls came from thence by cocket from Bristoll, ordinarylie taken out by the trowe men upp Severne, and then was her majestie for the victuallinge of Ireland, and for other services, redely and well provided at Bristoll, but now her charges upp Severne to provide together the same is great; as by the book of the purveior for their service apereth; and great exacons been at Gloucester for cockett and other fees, for where before the charge of cockett and certificate was but two shillinges and eight pence, yt is now five shillinges and eight pence, besides fee, and the countrie upp Severne will be as well in everie respect eased by a deputation at Gloucester, as by the custome-house, and for less charges by two shillinges and eight pence in a cockett, of which exaction the trowmen uppe Severne have often complayned and exhibited supplications to the mayor of Bristoll.

“ The trade and shippinge of Bristoll is already so decayed by reason of the premises, that they have done awaye and must do awaye their great shippinge, and have offered the same to be sold, to their great losse; for although the great shippes be more worthier and servicable, yet are the small sort more profitable for the merchants, and better chape to be fraghted, and will turne and winde in narrower places, &c.

“ In tender consideration whereoff, and forasmuch as the erectinge of the newe porte doth and is lyke to decaye, the said citye of Bristoll, and stoppe the vente of our English lawfull merchandizes, decrease and demenish the great sheppynge of Bristowe, and the maryners to them belonging; stope and chooke the vente and utteraunce which the sayd city^{*} hath had upp Severne with their forrene merchandizes, demenish her highness’ customes, and profits, and raise a dearth^{*} and scarsetye in this commonwealthe, and of the other side no profit or benefit comparable to the last of these.—May it please your honnors, of your accustomed regarde in suche urgente distresses, to be a meane to her majestie, that the said letters patent may be repealed, and the seyde city and port of Bristowe be restored to their auneynt estate, for in the begynnyng of these decayes we thinke it not our part to be silent.”*

The grievance complained of in this petition was afterwards redressed by the revocation of a charter so injurious to the prosperity of the second sea-port of the kingdom, so prejudicial to the revenue of the state, and of such comparatively inconsiderable benefit to the many small cities and towns to which it had been granted.

An instance of skill and enterprize in the nautical art, which occurred in the year 1590, deserves to be recorded. Richard Ferns, a waterman of London, engaged for a considerable wager to sail in his wherry from that city to Bristol, in the course of twelve months. Accordingly, he set sail from London on the 24th of June, and on the 23d of August following arrived at Bristol, under sail, when the tide was at half-ebb, and landed at the farther slip at the Back. His wherry was immediately carried on men’s shoulders to the Tolzey, and deposited in a storehouse, as a curiosity. The fortunate navigator was congratulated by the populace on his arrival; he performed his solitary voyage

in eight weeks and four days, and afforded a memorable proof of the extraordinary success which often attends human enterprise and perseverance.

The variety of the benefactions of benevolent citizens of Bristol, at this period, was demonstrative of the benign effects of that strict morality enjoined by the Christian religion, and practised during the auspicious reign of Elizabeth with particular purity. Several gifts and bequests of pious individuals contributed to the relief and comfort of the diseased and necessitous in this city, the population of which continually increased; and in 1590, the Guants Church in College-green was given by Mr. Carr, a merchant of Bristol, for an hospital to be founded for forty poor girls, to be admitted from the age of eight to ten years, and lodged, boarded, clothed, and instructed, till they were eighteen. It was called the Queen's Hospital, in honour of her majesty. Among its principal benefactors was Mr. Bird, who gave £500. towards its establishment, disbursed money for the fee simple of the house and orchards adjoining for a lodging and play-ground for the children, and during his mayoralty, obtained permission of the merchants to lay a toll during eight years, on the following commodities: for every ton of lead landed on St. Mary Redcliff Hill, four-pence; for every ton of iron landed for sale on the Back or Quay, four-pence; and for every frail of raisins, two-pence. This toll was carefully collected.

During a general dearth throughout the kingdom in the year 1596, the mayor and corporation of Bristol manifested their philanthropy and prudence, by a regulation for the relief of the necessitous, according to which every burgess in proportion to his property, supplied a certain number of the poor daily with provisions. This was avowedly adopted to prevent an insurrection, and preserve the indigent from famine. The price of wheat was twenty shillings a bushel, and of malt and rye ten shillings. This year was also memorable for a successful expedition of the English against Spain. Queen Elizabeth having received information that the Spanish monarch was again making preparations to invade

England and Ireland, she fitted a fleet of one hundred and fifty ships of war and transports, which were joined by twenty Dutch ships, and commanded by Admiral Howard. The command of the land forces embarked in this expedition was given to the celebrated Earl of Essex. This fleet, to the equipment of which the citizens of Bristol readily contributed, sailed from Plymouth in June ; and on the twentieth day of the same month, they attacked the Spanish fleet in the harbour of Cadiz, and, after an engagement from day-break till noon, compelled the enemy to abandon their ships, which they set on fire. The *St. Matthew* and *St. Andrew*, two Spanish ships of war, were captured, and all the rest of the fleet destroyed. In the meantime, the English troops landed from the transports, and after a conflict of several hours, Cadiz was surrendered to them by a capitulation, according to which the citizens agreed to pay seventy thousand ducats to the victors. Besides the merchantmen destroyed by Sir Walter Raleigh, at Port-Real, the King of Spain lost two galleons, taken by the English, eleven ships of war, and twenty-three merchant ships richly laden. The loss was estimated at twenty millions of ducats, and the victorious English seamen and soldiers returned to their native country with a vast treasure. This second blow convinced Philip of the absurdity of attempting the conquest of England ; but Queen Elizabeth, in order to provide for the future security of the state, augmented the royal navy in 1599, to thirty-five ships of war of different rates.

The queen, who was distinguished for affability to her subjects on all occasions, had been induced, by the petitions of individuals, to grant them her letters patent, securing their exclusive right to trade in particular commodities. This species of monopoly, which was detrimental to the general welfare of the community, being loudly complained of, her majesty, in the year 1601, annulled those grants, an act of patriotism which was so pleasing to the Commons, that a deputation of eighty members waited on her with their thanks. Her answer to their address is remarkable, and justly defines the principles by which she

was actuated. "I owe you" said her majesty, "heartly thanks and commendations, for your singular good will to me, not only in your hearts and thoughts, but which you have openly expressed and declared, whereby you have recalled me from an error proceeding from my ignorance, not my will. These things had undeservedly turned to my disgrace, had not such harpies as these been made known and discovered to me by you. I had rather my heart or hand should perish, than that either my heart or hand should allow such privileges to monopolists, as may be prejudicial to my people. The splendour of regal majesty hath not so blinded mine eyes, that licentious power should prevail with me more than justice. The glory of the name of a king may deceive princes that know not how to rule, as gilded pills may deceive a sick patient. But I am none of those princes: for I know that the commonwealth is to be governed for the good and advantage of those that are committed to me, not of myself to whom it is intrusted; and that an account is one day to be given before another judgment-seat. I think myself most happy, that by God's assistance I have hitherto so prosperously governed the commonwealth in all respects; and that I have such subjects, as for their good I would willingly leave both kingdom and life also. I beseech you, that whatever misdemeanours and miscarriages others are guilty of by their false suggestions, may not be imputed to me: let the testimony of a clear conscience entirely in all respects excuse me. You are not ignorant that *princes' servants are oftentimes too much set upon their own private advantage; that the truth is frequently concealed from princes, and they cannot themselves look narrowly into all things, upon whose shoulders lieth continually the heavy weight of the greatest and most important affairs.*"

In 1602 Lady Ramsey, the wife of Sir Thomas Ramsey, Lord Mayor of London, gave one thousand pounds for the further maintenance of the children of the Queen's Hospital, in Bristol. To this benefaction the Corporation added £450. with which they purchased lands of the value of £90. per annum.

On the 24th of March, 1603, Queen Elizabeth died, in the 45th year of her reign, to the general regret of the nation; and on the 28th of the same month, her successor, the King of Scotland, was proclaimed at the High Cross in Bristol, by the name of James I. This ceremony was attended by the mayor and aldermen, in their scarlet gowns, and all the city companies under their proper ensigns. The two sheriffs in their scarlet gowns stood in the High Cross, with his majesty's picture placed over their heads in the sight of the populace. After the proclamation, the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses, went to St. Nicholas' Church to hear a sermon.

By the accession of King James, the two kingdoms of England and Scotland were united under the name of Great Britain. In the first year of his reign a pestilential disease began its ravages in Bristol, where it continued upwards of a year, during which there died 2440 persons of the plague, and 516 of other distempers, according to the list of burials kept in the church books.

On the 20th of January, 1607 at high water, this city was inundated, insomuch that in St. Stephen's, St. Thomas's, and Temple Churches, the water was half way up the seats; the arches of the bridge were filled, but it did not injure the houses. The water rose five feet at Trim Mills. In the marshes near the Severn, both on the English and Welsh coast, the sea broke over the banks of that river with such impetuosity, that it drowned all the cattle, and carried away the corn and hay. The people, to save their lives, climbed to the tops of their houses, and those who were in the fields were obliged to climb upon the trees. In the beginning of August, the same year, another inundation overflowed all the low grounds near the Severn, and continued in the fields to the depth of six feet. Many persons who had climbed on trees for security, continued in that perilous situation two days. The mayor of Bristol, when informed of their distress, sent boats to their assistance. In Bristol, at the Back, it rose four feet and a half above the streets, all the lower part of

the city was covered with the flood, and the merchants and tradesmen had goods to a considerable amount damaged by the water in their warehouses and cellars. But the most memorable circumstance relative to this city, in 1607, was a severe frost, which commenced on the 20th of November, and lasted to the 8th of February in the following year. The rivers Severn and Wye were so completely frozen over, that the navigation was entirely stopped. People made fires and dressed their victuals on the ice of the Severn, and amused themselves with several rustic pastimes. At the thaw, the broken ice was carried by the tide into Kingroad with such violence, that it did much damage to the shipping that lay at anchor.

In 1608 a dreadful dearth prevailed, and thousands must have perished of famine, had it not been for the seasonable supplies of grain imported into this kingdom. The imports of corn from Dantzic, and other places, into the port of Bristol, were immense. It appears from the custom-house books, that from the 23d of July, 1608, to the 24th of July, 1609, no less than six hundred vessels, laden with grain, entered this port. The quantity imported was,

Of Wheat,	34,629 Bushels,	valued at 5s. per Bushel,	£8,657.	5s.
Of Rye,	73,770 ditto.....	4s.....	14,754.	0s.
Of Barley,	4,040 ditto.....	3s.....	606.	0s.
<hr/>			<hr/>	
112,439			£24,017. 5s.	
<hr/>			<hr/>	

Wheat was sold for some time at 6s. 8d. a bushel, and rye at 5s. 4d.; but an abundant harvest reduced the prices, and wheat was sold at 4s. a bushel before the end of the year. The frequency of dearth in England, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is a proof of the unskilfulness or indolence of the English agriculturist, for lands were not rated high. In 1544, good lands let in England at one shilling per acre; and the art of gardening, which had been introduced into this country from the Continent nearly forty years prior to that

period, must have been productive of great benefit to the community long before the accession of King James I. The inglorious reign of that worthless prince was indeed undistinguished by any act of patriotism ; national glory was sacrificed to his indolence and cowardice, and his obstinacy respecting prerogative, was the foundation of that arbitrary system which terminated with the tragical death of his successor. Prince Henry, his eldest son, who died in his minority, from the early indication which he gave of superior talents and heroism, would probably have been worthy to have reigned over this island ; but James himself, by pusillanimous concessions to foreign states for the preservation of peace, while he lavished the public money on worthless favourites, excited the just contempt both of his own subjects and foreigners.

In 1612, the city of Bristol was honoured with a royal visit ; and the following description of the ceremonies and amusements which took place on that occasion, are described with a simplicity characteristic of that period, and the love of show which was then one of the favourite gratifications of the English nation.

“ On the 4th of May, 1612, Anne of Denmark, wife to the king, came from Bath to this city, accompanied by the Earl of Worcester, and the mayor, with all the magistrates and common council, in their scarlet robes, with the recorder, did ride two and two on horseback, in their foot cloaths, accompanied by the chief masters of the several trades, with their hoods, unto Lawford's Gate, when Mr. recorder made a very handsome oration. The mayor presented her majesty with a rich embroidered purse of gold, and then with all the magistrates, took horse again, the last common-councilman did ride first, and the mayor did ride bare-headed before her majesty's coach, with a chain of gold about his neck. When they came up Wine-street, all the trained soldiers of the city stood along each side of the street, every one according to his ability, having their apparel suitable to their colours, with hats and feathers, and white doublets, every one

by his dress seeming to be a commander rather than a private soldier. After the mayor and council had brought the queen to her lodgings, (which was at Sir John Young's,) upon their coming back; all the trained soldiers drew to the quay, and loaded every one his gun, and fired a volley, by a private notice from the Earl of Worcester, who was at an house on the quay; then they marched to the Green, before the queen's lodgings, and fired another volley; they then left her, leaving an honourable guard at her majesty's lodgings.

“ On Sunday, the 6th of June, the mayor, with the council in their scarlet gowns, came on foot to bring her majesty to the College to hear a sermon, the mayor walking before the coach bare-headed, with a chain of gold about his neck. But the sword of state was not carried before the mayor; in honour to the queen, all the trained soldiers attended, and the queen was accompanied in the coach by the Earl of Worcester, and the Lord Bishop of Wells. Dr. Robson, Dean of Bristol, preached, and the queen returned to her lodgings in the same state that she was conducted therefrom. And the next day, to shew the queen some diversion, there was a sham-fight on the river at high water, against the mouth of the river on the Gibb; and there was built a place in Cannon's Marsh, finely decorated with ivy-leaves and flowers for her majesty to sit in, and see the fight. And when the time came, the mayor and aldermen, in their gowns, did bring her majesty thither, they riding before in their foot cloaths; and having placed her majesty, a ship came up under sail and cast anchor, and drew their ensigns upon their top-masts, making obeisance to the queen. After that they spread their flags again, and up came two galleys of Turks, and set upon the ship, and there was much fighting and shooting on both sides. The Turks boarded the ship, and were put off again with loss of men; some of the Turks running up the main-top-mast to pull down the flag, were thrown overboard into the river, whilst the ship's side did run over with blood. At last the Turks were taken, and presented to her majesty, who, laughing, said, “ they were not only like Turks by their apparel, but by their

countenances." This fight was so excellently performed for the time, that it delighted her majesty much, and she said " she never saw any thing so neatly and artificially performed." Afterwards she was conducted to her lodging by the mayor, aldermen, and trained soldiers. It was surprizing to see the company that attended at this exhibition.

" The next day, being Tuesday, about two o'clock, her majesty left Bristol, being attended to Lawford's Gate by the mayor and corporation. The mayor then took his leave of her on his knees, and the queen presented him with a diamond ring worth sixty pounds, which he wore about his neck hung by a chain of gold. The queen expressed great satisfaction at her entertainment here, and was pleased to say, that she never knew she was queen till she came to Bristol."

The citizens of Bristol had hitherto been undistinguished for their progress in literary attainments, but in 1614, Doctor Tobias Matthews, Archbishop of York, established the City Library, in the Marsh. This prelate was born on Bristol-bridge, and was a celebrated and eloquent preacher. The books presented by him to the citizens of Bristol, were expressly " for the use of the aldermen and shopkeepers." Mr. Robert Redwood was the builder of the Library, and the Reverend Richard Williams was the first librarian. Hence with the successful extension of manufactures and foreign commerce, literature and the sciences also became inmates of Bristol.

In 1615, several old houses were taken down near the west end of St. Nicholas's shambles, and a fish-market established; a new public walk was made near All-Saints Church; the Tolzey was rebuilt on a more extensive plan, and the windows made higher. These improvements, which marked the progress of the citizens in opulence and refinement, also contributed to the beauty and salubrity of the city. An instance of invincible obstinacy was this

year evinced by a felon confined in Newgate, who when brought to his trial refused to be tried by his country, and was remanded to prison, where he was pressed to death according to law.

In the year 1623, the Corn-market was built in Wine-street, where a well was sunk, and a pump set up for the public accommodation, at the expence of the city Chamber. Soon after the accession of King Charles I. he granted a charter to the citizens of Bristol, by which the Castle, with the walls, banks, ditches, houses, gardens, &c. within its precincts, were for ever separated from the county of Gloucester, and made part of the city and county of Bristol. According to this charter, the Castle of Bristol was thenceforward to be within the jurisdiction, and subject to the authority of the mayor, sheriffs, coroners, and justices of the city ; no officer of the county of Gloucester was to intermeddle in its municipal government ; and all the inhabitants of the Castle were admitted to a participation of the privileges of the burgesses of Bristol, the king reserving his right to all his tenants within the said Castle, as his demesne or parcel of the possessions of his crown. This charter was granted on the 13th of April, 1630, in the fifth year of the reign of King Charles I. And by another charter, dated the 26th of October, 1631, “ the king, in consideration of the sum of £951. paid by the mayor, burgesses, and commonality of the city of Bristol, into the Exchequer at Westminster, which was acknowledged in full discharge for ever, of all that grant made by his majesty to the said mayor, &c. of all his castle of Bristol, with all its rights, members, and appurtenances whatsoever, in reversion of three lives of John, Gillian, and Nathaniel Brewster, granted to Francis Brewster, the 23d of August, in the second year of the reign of King Charles I. 1626, under the yearly rent of one hundred pounds.” After this grant, a new armoury was built in the Castle, and in 1634, the corporation of Bristol purchased of John Brewster his estate, and one life more to come of the Castle, for £520.—The Castle was granted to the city in

fee farm, at £40. per annum, for the queen's life*, as a recompence for the public services of the burgesses in billeting soldiers, furnishing shipping to

* Prior to the period that the burgesses of Bristol thus obtained possession of the Castle of Bristol, it had become an intolerable nuisance to the city. Being out of the jurisdiction of the magistracy of the city, and distant from the residence of any magistrate for the county of Gloucester, the castle became the rendezvous of thieves, robbers, and other lawless desperadoes, who escaped out of Bristol to elude justice, and pursued their nefarious practices with impunity.

The most remarkable events which occurred in Bristol Castle from the time that it became a royal demesne, A. D. 1173, to the date of the abovementioned purchase, including four hundred and sixty years, have already been detailed in this work in chronological order. A list of the Governors or Constables of the Castle during that time, is now annexed for the satisfaction of the antiquarian.

King John, in the sixth year of his reign, conferred on John le Warre, the honour of Gloucester, the Castle of Bristol, and the manor of Brislington.

In 1224 Henry III. nominated Ralph de Willington, governor and constable of this Castle, and warden of the chace of Keynsham.

In 1234, William, son of Hugh Lord Talbot, had custody of the Castle of Bristol.

In 1260, Roger de Leeburne was appointed Constable of the Castle of Bristol, and he was succeeded in this office by Bartholomew de Inovence, in 1264.

In the year 1271, John de Musegres was constable of this Castle, in which office he was succeeded A. D. 1289. by Peter de la Mare, who rendered an account to King Edward I. of £23. 9s. 10d. in lieu of price of beer belonging to the Castle as part of its profits.

In the reign of Edward I. Bartholomew Badlesmere was, for his exploits during the wars with Scotland, promoted to the rank of a baron, and made governor of the Castle, town, and barton of Bristol. His nephew and heir, Roger Bygod, had a grant from King Edward, of the Castles of Bristol and Nottingham, to hold for life.

In the reign of the unfortunate Edward II. his favourite minister, Hugh Spencer, Earl of Winchester, was left by the fugitive king, as governor of the Castle of Bristol. His surrender and execution have already been mentioned.

In the year 1336, Richard de Kyngheston was constable of this Castle.

In the 35th year of the reign of Edward III. Edmund Flamberd was appointed by Queen Phillipa to the office of Constable of Bristol Castle, with a fee of £20. per annum; and on his resignation, the queen nominated Robert de Foulhurst his successor, which was confirmed by the King.

In 1366, Hugh de Legrave was appointed by King Edward III. governor of this Castle for life; and in the year 1370, John de Thorp succeeded to that office, and continued in it to the 3d year of the reign of Richard II.

In 1413, Henry IV. constituted Hugh Lutterel constable of the Castle of Bristol.

In 1442, Sir John St. Loe was made constable of the Castle of Bristol for life, and in 1444, King Henry VI. granted the manor and hundred of Bristol to Henry de Beauchamp, in reversion from the death of Humphry, Duke of Gloucester.

transport them to Ireland, and fitting out ships of war to cruise against the pirates which then infested the coast. The citizens of Bristol had disbursed £1,100. in billeting soldiers.

The following curious anecdote is recorded of Mrs. Cary, a widow, who lived on the Back, in Bristol, in the year 1631. Having been terrified by several frightful apparitions of King Charles I. who appeared in black, with his head off, and his crown covered with blood, she went to London, and was introduced by the Earl of Dorset to his majesty. When she informed the king

During the reign of Edward VI. Sir Humphry Stafford was appointed constable of the Castle of Bristol, and of several of the king's forests, including Kingswood.

In the 4th year of Edward VI. 1550, Sir William Hubert was granted the custody of Bristol Castle.

In 1549, during the tumults about religion, the walls of the Castle and City of Bristol were repaired, cannon mounted, and proper guards placed, which prevented an insurrection.

In the glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth, Sir John Stafford, knight, was, as a reward for his valour, granted the constablership of Bristol Castle. It appears, however, that he was negligent of his office, for immediately after the accession of King James I. a petition was presented to the Privy Council, on the 6th of March, 1602, complaining, " that Sir John Stafford, Knight, Keeper of his Majesty's Castle of Bristol, being seldom or never resident there, but leaving a mean and unworthy resident in his stead, hath of late time suffered many poor and indigent people, to the number of 49 families, consisting of about 240 persons, to inhabit within the said castle, who for the most part are persons of lewd life and conversation, and in no way able to relieve themselves but by begging and stealing, to the great annoyance of the citizens, the rather for that the said Castle being exempted from the liberties of the city, though it standeth within the body of the same, doth serve for a refuge and receptacle of malefactors, as well of the city, as others that fly thither to escape justice: it was thought and ordered to the petitioners humble request, that for avoiding the present inconvenience, and preventing the like for the future, the Lord High Treasurer of England, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, calling the said John Stafford before them, should take order for removing the persons then residing in the said Castle, into such places where they last dwelt, and also that there be not hereafter any more admitted to inhabit there, but only such as Sir John Stafford will undertake for their sufficiency and good behaviour, to the end the city be not further charged or molested by them, or his Majesty's Castle pestered with any such base cottagers, or scandalous inmates."

It appears from a record of the offices and fees of the king's household in 1606, that the salary of the Constable of Bristol Castle was only £20. which was the sum paid in the reign of Edward III. so that it was rather a post of honour than emolument.

Such are the principal facts respecting the government of Bristol Castle, while it remained independent of the city.

of her visions, he dismissed her with this observation, "Take her away, she is a merry woman." Mrs. Cary returned to Bristol, where her mind was again disturbed by a repetition of her visions, which induced her to go to London a second time. On her arrival in the capital, she was informed that the king was gone to York, whither she went, and was admitted to another interview with his majesty, whom she earnestly importuned to reflect on what she had seen, but was again discredited, the apparition being supposed the effect of a distempered imagination. It is, however, remarkable, that a fanciful woman forewarned the king of his danger eleven years before the commencement of hostilities between him and the parliament, and prior to those arbitrary acts of the king, which compelled the people to take up arms in defence of their liberties.

The unjustifiable exactions of Charles I. were very offensive to the people in general, but the tax called ship-money was particularly unpopular. In 1635 the city of Bristol paid £25,000. for customs; and soon afterwards the corporation contributed the sum of £2,163. 13s. 4d. towards the equipment of a fleet against France and Holland. But notwithstanding their liberality, the merchants of Bristol were, in 1638, harassed by commissioners and pursuivants, who examined them on oath respecting their imports and exports. Tradesmen and manufacturers were also compelled to pay heavy imposts; soap-makers paid a duty of £4. per ton on soap, and brewers were obliged to pay forty marks per annum for a licence. Several opulent merchants of Bristol went to London to petition the king for redress; they were graciously received by his majesty, who expressed his regret at having granted oppressive commissions, in consequence of having received wrong information, and gave them permission to prefer a bill against the commissioners in the Star-chamber. But after considerable delay, the trial remained undetermined; yet the king advised them to continue the prosecution, promising to act as mediator. The grievances of the merchants, however, remained unredressed, and they returned to Bristol much incensed at those unjust exactions of his majesty's ministers, which at length led to a civil

war, that harassed the inhabitants of England for some years, and terminated in the decapitation of the sovereign, and the subversion of the state.

The importance of Bristol, both as the second city of the kingdom, commanding the county of Somerset, and the principal entrance into Wales, rendered the possession of it of the utmost consequence in the event of a war ; and when the civil commotions began to assume a formidable aspect, in 1642, the castle and city walls were repaired, by an order of the magistrates, and at the expence of the corporation. A fort on Brandon-hill, and another on St. Michael's-hill, afterwards called the royal fort, were erected, planted with cannon, and united to the principal fortifications by lines of communication.

At the commencement of hostilities between the king and parliament, the nation was divided into parties, insomuch that there was scarcely a town but contained different partisans. Bristol, in common with the rest, was also divided into political factions ; but the preponderant influence seems to have been hostile to the sovereign ; for towards the close of 1642, when Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and Mr. Smith, of Ashton, were sent by Lord Paulet, to request the admission of cavalry into Bristol, it was refused by Richard Aldworth, the mayor. Soon afterwards, Sir Alexander Popham approached the city with five hundred cavalry, which he intended to have augmented by a reinforcement of four hundred more, to take possession of Bristol for the parliament. But the corporation refused him admittance, and stationed parties of the trained bands, to the number of one hundred men, armed with pikes and muskets, at the different gates, which were strengthened by port-cullises. The fortifications of the castle being repaired, several pieces of heavy ordnance were planted on the strong wall of the principal tower, to annoy besiegers at a considerable distance, and smaller cannon were placed on different forts, for the protection of the city.

Soon afterwards Colonel Essex, who commanded the parliamentary forces at Gloucester, being secretly invited by some of the citizens of Bristol to come and take possession of the city, he approached it on the 5th of December, 1642, with a considerable army. But the gates were immediately shut against him; the citizens appeared in arms, and the mayor and common council met at the Tolzey, to devise the best means for the defence of the city. Their deliberations were, however, interrupted by the mayor's wife, and several other women of distinction, who presented a petition, requesting the corporation to admit the parliament's army. Their importunities eventually prevailed, for on the following night the gates were opened to Colonel Essex, who marched into the city with two regiments of infantry, and took possession of the castle in the name of the parliament.

The new governor, Colonel Essex, was a man of gaiety and dissipation, a character ill adapted to enforce that strictness of discipline requisite in a garrison. An intimation of his negligence, and the consequent danger to which the city was exposed, having been transmitted by some of the principal citizens to parliament, the governor was arrested, and the command given to Colonel Fiennes.

“ About the 6th of March came information by letters from Bristoll, that Colonel Essex had so ill demeaned himself there, that the honest and well-affected inhabitants of the citie were both weary and afraid of him, and of his government, because he spent his time in little else but drinking, feasting, dancing, riotous gaming, and such like vain and profane living. Wherefore to rid themselves of him, they caused him to be invited (whereunto he was easily intreated) to feast and dance in a house some distance from the citie, where being mighty joviall and merry, in the midst of his cups, he was suddenly apprehended by Colonel Fynes, (son and heir to that noble and pious peer, the Lord Sey) and his troop of horse, and presently by them carried prisoner from thence,

first to Berkeley Castle, and afterwards to the citie of Gloucester, where he was kept in safe custodie."

It appears that party spirit was at a great height in Bristol at this period, and the friends of the popular cause were so turbulent, that those citizens who were royalists found it dangerous to appear in the streets, and if they passed the boundaries of the city, they were seized as disaffected persons, and sent prisoners to Taunton or Berkeley Castle.

On the 16th of February, 1643, Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes, at the head of five troops of cavalry, and five companies of infantry, entered Bristol, and assumed the title of governor of the city and castle. On the 27th of the same month, Sir Edward Hungerford came with his forces, the castle was made a garrison for the parliament, and strengthened with additional fortifications; to defray the expence of which, the citizens were compelled to pay a heavy contribution, amounting to £55. 15s. a week, assessed on their lands, goods, money at interest, and stock in trade. This tax was to last for three months, or till the king's troops were disbanded; and it was confirmed by act of parliament. At this period, the city of Bristol supplied Sir William Waller with a considerable body of recruits for his army; but while he proceeded in the reduction of several towns in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire, an association or conspiracy was entered into by some of the principal inhabitants of this city, to open the gates to the king's forces, under the command of Prince Rupert.

The principal persons concerned in this plot were Mr. Robert Yeomans, Mr. George Bouchier, merchants; Mr. William Yeomans, Mr. Edward Dakes, Mr. Arundel, Mr. Teague, Thomas Barret, cutler; John Nickens, trunkmaker; Ephraim Goody, goldsmith; Mr. Millard, Mr. Collins, Mr. Brent, Mr. Blackborough, Captain Cole, Mr. Thrompe, Cowley a quack, and Green an

attorney, John Pester, Thomas Lophens, Matthew Stephens, Nathaniel Street, tiler, Henry Russel, and others.

On the 7th of March, at night, Prince Rupert, Prince Maurice, and Lady Digby, with 4,000 cavalry, and 2,000 infantry, were to advance to Durdham Down, half a mile from the city, on the Gloucestershire side ; and the royal adherents in the city engaged to seize Froom-gate and Newgate, for their admission. Blackborough, who lived near Froom-gate, was to give a passage to the king's forces through his garden. The signal was to be the tolling of a bell, at St. Nicholas's, St. John's, and St. Michael's Churches. The bell at St. Nicholas's was to be a signal to those who were to attack the mainguard, near the High Cross and Tolzey ; the bell at St. John's to those who were to seize Froom-gate, and the bell at St. Michael's to the troops under Prince Rupert to act in concert with their friends in the city. The royalists were to be distinguished by white tape in their hats, inscribed with the word Charles.

According to agreement, about fifty of the conspirators met in arms at Mr. Yeoman's house, expecting to be joined by a number of butchers from the shambles near St. Nicholas-gate. Robert Yeomans, who was nominated colonel in the king's service, was to march with this party to attack the mainguard, and post a strong body of forces at St. Nicholas-gate, to prevent any attack from the garrison stationed on the other side of the bridge, in Somersetshire.

Mr. Bouchier was to command the party that was to seize Froom-gate, at the tolling of St. John's bell, in which he was to be assisted by the seamen from St. Augustine's Back. Then was the bell at St. Michael's on the hill to be tolled, and the royal army immediately to march down to Froom-gate and Blackborough's garden, while their friends in the city broke open the house of Humphry Hooke, mayor, and having killed him and his family, and seized the

keys of the city gates, were to open them to their confederates. Those citizens who did not wear white tape, and other marks of their loyalty, were to be plundered and massacred.*

About an hour before this conspiracy was to have been put in execution, a man came to the guard at the bridge-foot, and said he saw several men go into the house of Mr. Robert Yeomans. It was then twelve o'clock at night. In a few minutes the house was invested by a party of the soldiery, the entrance was forced, and a number of men found in arms, who were immediately apprehended, and escorted to the castle. Mr. Bouchier being also a suspected person, his house was searched, and another party found there in arms. Prince Rupert advanced, according to the projected scheme; but hearing no tolling of the bells, after waiting four hours, he approached with some cavalry to Brandon-hill, but a few shot from the Fort compelled him to retire.

The following written proclamation was found in the house of Mr. Yeomans:—"All inhabitants of the Bridge, High-street, and Corn-street, keep within your doors upon peril of your lives. All other inhabitants of this city who stand for the king, let them forthwith appear at the High Cross with such arms as they have, and follow their leaders."

According to the account given by Mr. Barrett, the two principal conspirators, Mr. Robert Yeomans, and Mr. George Bouchier, were treated with great severity, being chained by their necks, and confined in a dungeon in the Castle, for several weeks, without permission to converse with their nearest relations. They were tried by a court-martial, in the house of Mr. Robert Rogers, at the Bridge, and sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, which was put in execution on the 30th of May, in Wine-street, at the Nag's Head door.

* Parl. Chron. p. 278.

During the time these unfortunate citizens lay under sentence of death, King Charles made great exertions to save them. His Majesty first sent a letter by General Ruthen, to the governor of Bristol, with a menace, that if these citizens were put to death, several partisans of the parliament, who were his prisoners, should also suffer a similar punishment; but colonel Fiennes, in his answer, pointed out the difference between prisoners of war, and spies or conspirators. After this unsuccessful application, the king wrote a letter to Mr. York, the mayor; Mr. William Colston, and Mr. Henry Creswick, sheriffs; in which he told them that the execution of Yeomans and Bouchier, "would call down the just vengeance of God, and bring perpetual infamy on the city, he therefore willed and commanded them to raise all the power and strength of the city to rescue them." But this royal mandate was disregarded, and the culprits suffered the rigour of martial law. Indeed it was unreasonable to suppose that the municipality of Bristol would venture to act in open defiance to the governor of this city, especially when "the mayor was a puritan, and the governor a presbyterian."

The execution of two respectable citizens, and the severity with which the contributions were exacted by governor Fiennes, exasperated the inhabitants of Bristol, and intimations of this general discontent being communicated to the king, he was encouraged to besiege the city.* Accordingly, on the 22d day

* A few days before this city surrendered to Prince Rupert, the following letter was sent by Colonel Fiennes, the governor, directed to Mr. Gunning the younger.

"Bristol,—Whereas this city is at this time environed, and in great and imminent danger to be swallowed up by many cruel and barbarous enemies of papists, Irish rebels, and others; and most of the inhabitants of this city have, and all ought to take an oath of protestation for defence thereof, with their lives and fortunes. These are to require you forthwith to pay to my servant Ralph Hooker, to be employed for the defence of the city, the sum of two hundred pounds; which sum, in respect of your estate, is below the proportion required of other persons of your quality, by an ordinance of parliament. And if you shall refuse in this time of so great necessity, you may expect whatever the desperate resolution of soldiers, reduced unto extreme necessity, may put them to act against your person and estates, unless by a speedy contribution towards their supply, you shall prevent the same. Given under my hand, July 25, 1643.

NATH. FIENNES."

of July, 1643, Prince Rupert came before Bristol with an army of twenty thousand men, and having summoned the garrison to surrender, which was refused, he immediately besieged the city, and the same day, with the assistance of the seamen, according to a preconcerted plan, he seized all the shipping that were in the harbour, laden with goods of great value, which were put on board by the citizens for greater safety.

On the 23d of July, Prince Rupert reconnoitred the out-works, which he found but indifferently fortified; it was therefore resolved, at a council of war, to proceed by assault. The attack in the Somersetshire side, was led on by Prince Maurice and the Marquis of Hartford; several of the assailants scaled the wall; but, by the vigorous defence of the garrison, they were repelled with great slaughter. On the Gloucestershire side, where Prince Rupert commanded in person, the royalists were successful; for Colonel Washington having discovered a weak part in the curtain between Brandon-Hill and Windmill forts, out of the reach of the cannon shot of the besieged, he entered, and his pioneers soon made a sufficient passage for the cavalry. Thus Prince Rupert pressed forward to Froome-gate with the loss of five hundred men, who were shot by the inhabitants from the walls and windows. This resolute progress of the royalists compelled the governor into a capitulation, in the articles of which it was stipulated,—

“ 1. That none of the citizens should be molested in their persons or goods.

“ 2. That every officer should march forth with his arms.

“ 3. That every trooper should ride out with his horse and his sword.

“ 4. That every soldier should march away with his sword, bag, and baggage.

“ 5. That a safe convoy should be allowed for twenty miles.”

The articles of this capitulation were wantonly violated by the royalists, who even stripped the soldiers of the garrison of their clothes. Colonel Biennes, the governor, was afterwards tried by a court martial, for cowardice, and condemned to die, but he was reprieved by the Earl of Essex, who mitigated the sentence to banishment for life.

According to the account of this siege given by a noble historian,* “ There were in the town 2,500 foot, and a regiment of horse and dragoons. The line about the town was finished, yet in some places the graff was deeper than in others. The castle was very well prepared and supplied with great store of provisions to endure a siege.”

The royalists found in the military stores 1,700 barrels of gunpowder, with proportionate match and bullets, sixty pieces of brass cannon, and a great number of muskets and pikes; eighteen ships in the river, belonging to the merchants, and four ships of war belonging to the parliament, that came with supplies of ammunition to the garrison. The citizens paid £1,400 of a contribution to prevent the city from being plundered; and by a royal proclamation the soldiery were forbidden to plunder on pain of death. When Sir Arthur Ashton communicated the news of this important victory to King Charles, who was then at Oxford, his Majesty ordered public thanksgivings on the joyful occasion. At a council of war, and council of state, it was agreed to send Sir John Pennington, speedily to Bristol, to take the command of the ships, and a proclamation was issued inviting all mariners that were willing to serve the king, and promising that those should have their pardon who had served under the Earl of Warwick, and that the arrears of their pay due by him should be immediately paid at Bristol, with his Majesty's pay and favour for the future.

* Lord Clarendon in his History of the Rebellion, vol. II. p. 225.

According to the quaint humour of the age, an account of the victorious progress of the royal forces, on the 31st of July, 1643, was given in the following rhymes:—

Bristol taking,
Exeter shaking,
Glocester quaking.

Prince Rupert, with part of the royal army, to the number of 900 cavalry, and 4000 infantry, having taken possession of the city and castle of Bristol; the King, accompanied by Prince Charles, and the Duke of York, came to this city, on the 3d of August, and appointed the victorious Prince Rupert, governor. During his Majesty's stay in this city, he lodged at the house of Mr. Creswick, in Small-street, the beautiful gothic architecture of which is yet entire. Towards the close of the year 1643, letters patent, of which the following is a copy, passed the great seal, appointing the military establishment of this garrison.

“ Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To our trustie and welbeloved s'vant Edward Turnor, Esq. the th'rer of our garrison of Bristoll, Bathe, the Towne and Castle of Berkley, Nunney Castle, Farley Castle, and Portshall Pointe, lying and being within our severall counties of Som'sett, Glocester, and the citie and countie of Bristoll. Whereas for the good and safetie of our people, we have thought fitt to plan and settle sev'all garrisons in our cities of Bristoll and Bathe, the Town and Castle of Berkley, Nunney Castle, Farley Castle, and Portshall Point, and for the well ordering, fortifying, manneing, and maynteyning of the said several garrisons, have thought it likewise fitt, by the advice of our Councell, to cause an establishmt of contribuc'on to be made, settled, assigned, and set out, to and for the mayntenance of the garrisons aforesaid, and the officers and soldiers there. As also an establishmt of a constant pay and allowances to be made, issued forth, and allowed weekly to such troopes and regim'ts of horse and foote, and sev'all officers and souldiers

of the same, and for divers other ends and purposes, tending to our service, the mayntenance and safetie of our said garrisons in such sorte as by one schedule, signed with our sign manuall, bearing the same date with theis presents hereunto annexed, doth and may appeare. And we doe further order and assigne two hundred pounds by the weeke to be duely and constantly paid out of such moneys as shall arise and become due out of the customes, by the hand of the officer or officers of our customes, for the use and better mayntenance of our said garrisons. Now, to the end our good inten'cons for the safetie of our garrisons aforesaid, and all our loving subjects there, may have a good effect, by a due execu'con of the said establishmt in all parts thereof, as it is intended by us, Wee reposing espe'iall trust and confidence in your abilitie, integretie and good inclina'con to our said s'vice, have ordained, constituted, and appointed, and doe by these presents ordain, constitute, and appoint you, the said Edward Turnor, to be our th'rer for our said garrisons of Bristoll, &c. giving you hereby full power to acte and perform whatsoever upon the plan of th'rer of our said garrisons doth and may in any sorte belonge or app'rteyne. And you, the said Edmund Turnor, are to com'ence and beginne to be th'rer of our garrisons aforesaid, for the receiving, collecting, and issuing forth, all the said sev'all somes of money from the first of November last past. And the better to enable you, the said Edmund Turnor, for the p'formance of our s'rvice aforesaid; wee do hereby will and require all our sheriffs, commissioners, justices of peace, maiors, bayliffes, high-constables, and petit-constables, and all other our officers, ministers, and other loveinge subjects whatsoever, in our severall counties of Som'sett, Wiltes, and Gloucester, and our citie and countie of Bristoll, to be aidinge and assisting to you, your sufficient deputies, collectors, or assignes, and every of you, in receiving, leaveying, collecting, and gathering the contribuc'ons of the severall and respective hundreds, cities, townes, villages, and places menc'oned in the said schedule hereunto annexed. And wee doe hereby further com'and that all high constables, and petit-constables, and all other p'sons whatsoever, whome

these may concerne, doe yield obedience and forthwith execute all such warrants as they, or any of them, shall, from tyme to tyme, receive from you the said Edmund Turnor, as th'rer of our said garrisons, or any of your deputies, collectors, or assigns, authorized by you, touching or concerning the leavying and receiving all such somes of money as shall arise and growe due by way of contribuc'on, which somes of money soe leavied and received by them, they, the said high constables, petit-constables, and all others whatsoever, whome it concerned as aforesaid, are to bring in and convey to such places, and to such p'sons, and att such tymes as you, the said Edward Turnor, your deputies, collectors, or assigns, shall appointe and direct, and hereof they nor any of them, may att any tyme faill, under such paine and penalty as shall be inflicted uppon them by a councell of warre; and for defaulte of paym't of the aforesaid contribuc'on, wee doe also hereby require and com'and all our officers and soldiers within or belonging to our said garrisons, from tyme to tyme, to give their best assistance in sending forth such parties of horse or foote, as you shall think fitt and necessary for the due leavying and collecting of the contribuc'ons aforesaid. And you, the said Edmund Turnor, are, from tyme to tyme, to issue forth and pay out of all and every such some or somes of money as shall be raised and leavied, as well out of the contribuc'ons as the customes aforesaid, to such p'sons, and according to the order and forme for the paym't of the said sev'all garrisons expressed and set forth in the said establishm't hereunto annexed. And you are hereby alsoe required to demeane and behave yourself in the said place of tre'r, and to p'forme and execute such orders and instruc'cons as you shall receive from us, bearing the same date with theis p'sents, and all such further orders and instruc'cons as you shall from tyme to tyme receive from us. And for the execu'con of our said service, wee doe give, grant, and allowe to you, the said Edmund Turnor, thirteene shilling four pence p. diem, to you for two clerks, to each two shilling six pence p. diem, to you for eight collectors of the contribu'cons, to each four shilling p. diem, to three keepers of the stores or magazines for provisions and

victualls, to each three shilling four pence p. diem. And likewise we doe hereby give allowance for books, bagg, paper, inke, pens, and all such other necessaries as our said service shall require; all which said severall allowances shall be allowed unto you uppon your accompt; and for soe doing this shall be your sufficient warrant. In witnes whereof wee have caused theis our l'pres to be made patent. WITNES ourselfe att Oxford, the fourth day of December, in the twentieth yeare of our Raigne p. ip'm. Regem."

WILLYS.

" CHARLES R

" AN ESTABLISHMENT for Bristoll, comprisinge Bath, Berkeley Castle, Portshall Pointe, Nunney and Farley Castles dependant thereof, to com'ence and beginne the first of November, 1644.

" Three regiments of foote, 1,200 in each regiment, officers and all, each regiment to bee paid accordinge to theise ensuing particulars, viz.

	PER WEEKE.
To a Colonel	£05 00 00
To a Lieuten'nt-Colonel	04 03 04
To a Sergeant-Major	03 16 08
To a Captaine	02 10 00
To a Lieuten'nt	01 08 00
To an Ensigne	00 18 00
To a Gentleman of Armes	00 08 00
To a Corporall	00 05 00
To a Drum'e-Major	00 08 00
To a Drum'er	00 05 00
To a Quarter-master	01 00 00
To a Chaplaine	01 00 00

PER WEEK.

To a Provost-Marshall	£01 00 00
To a Chirurgeon	02 00 00
To a Carriage-Master	00 18 00
To a Com'on Souldier	00 03 06
After which rate, three regiments of foote, their pay amounteth weekly to	
	833 17 10

“ A regiment of seven troopes of horse, consistinge of 60 horse to each troope, officers and all, and his highness' troope of horse, consisting of 200, besides officers, to bee paid according to the ensuing particulars:

PER WEEK.

To a Colonell	£07 00 00
To a Lieutenant-Colonell	06 00 00
To a Sergeant-Major	05 10 00
To a Captaine	05 00 00
To a Lieuten'nt	03 00 00
To a Coronet	02 05 00
To a Quarter-master	01 10 00
To a Corporall	01 01 00
To a Trumpeter	00 17 06
To a Chirurgeon	00 17 06
To a Chaplaine	01 08 00
To a Trooper	00 10 00
After which rate, one regiment of horse their pay amounteth weekly to	
	352 02 00
His Highness' troope of horse, their pay weekeley	
	120 17 00

“ The chief officers of the sev'all garrisons to be paid weekly as followeth, viz.
The Governour, the Treasurer, to supply his charges.

PER WEEK.

The Lieuten't-Governour . . .	£21 00 00
The Deputy-Governour	10 00 00
The Major	05 00 00
The Com'issary-General or Mus- ter-Master	03 10 00
The Quarter-Master-Gen'all . . .	02 06 08
The Engineir	02 06 08
The Petardier or Engineir for Fire-works	05 00 00
The Provost Marshall	02 06 08
The Keeper of the Stores	01 00 00
The Proviant Mr	01 00 00
The Governour of Bathe	07 00 00*

* Short notices respecting the garrisons subordinate to Bristol, in 1644.

Bath was garrisoned in the early part of the civil wars for Charles I. and £7,000. were expended on its fortifications; but it soon became one of the principal posts of the parliamentary forces. Sir W. Waller lay there a considerable time with his whole army: but after the battle of Roundway Down, in 1643, the king's troops retook possession of the city without difficulty. It was then included in the Bristol establishment; but was given up by Sir Tho. Brydges, in July, 1643, previous to the surrender of Bristol.*

Berkeley Town and Castle, in Gloucestershire, the chief strength of which consisted in the outworks and church, was delivered up to the parliamentary forces by the gallant Sir Charles Lucas, the 25th of September, 1645, after a vigorous defence of nine days.†

Nunney Castle, three miles S. W. of Frome, in Somersetshire, had in it a large magazine; but was taken by the parliamentary army, after a siege of two days, and burnt to prevent the possibility of its future service to the king, September 8, 1645.‡

Farley Castle, Somersetshire, surrendered to the parliamentary army September 15, 1645.§

Portshall, or Portshead Point, in Somersetshire, a fortification commanding King's Road, in the Bristol Channel, surrendered to the parliamentary army on the 28th of August, 1645, after six days resistance; and thus the communication with the channel by water was cut off, previous to the siege of Bristol.

* Collinson's Somersetshire, I. 30. † Anglia Rediviva, ut supra. ‡ Anglia Rediviva. § Collinson's Somersetshire, II. 217.

PER WEEK.

The Governour of Berkeley . .	£07 00 00
The Governour of Portshall-Pointe	05 00 00
The Governour of Nunny Castle .	05 00 00
The Governour of Farley Castle	05 00 00
The Treasurer	04 13 04
To him for eight Collectors . . .	11 04 00
To him for two Deputyes	03 10 00
To him for two Clerkes	01 05 00
To him for three Keepers of the Magazine of Victualls	03 10 00

To the Gunners, and other inferiour Officers, as followeth, viz.

	Master Gunner . . . £02 06 08	PER WEEK.
Waterfort, Ordinance	John Greenfield, Mr Gunner . . .	00 17 06
7.	Richard Abbot, Mate	00 14 00
	To three Gunners, each 10s. . . .	01 10 00
Brandon-Hill Fort,	Francis Pitt, Mr Gunner	00 17 06
Ordinance,	Henry Gosse, Mate	00 14 00
6.	To two Gunners, each 10sh. . . .	01 00 00
Great Forte.	John Skinner, Mr Gunner	00 17 06
Ordinance	John Sherland, Mate	00 14 00
22.	To six Gunners, each 10sh.	03 00 00
	Com'issary of Victualls.	01 10 00
Redoute. Ordinance	Walter Daniell, Mr Gunner . . .	00 17 06
7.	John Gilburte, Mate	00 14 00
	To two Gunners, each 10sh. . . .	01 00 00
Prior Hill	Joseph Tucker, Mr Gunner	00 17 06
Ordinance,	William Howlett, Mate	00 14 00
13.	To three Gunners, each 10sh. . .	01 10 00
Lafford Gate	John Simonds, Mr Gunner	00 17 06
Ordinance	John Jones, Mate	00 14 00
7.	To six Gunners, each 10sh.	03 00 00
Temple,	James Fuller, Mr Gunner	00 17 06
Ordinance	John Scott, Mate	00 14 00

		PER WEEKE.
14.	To five Gunners, each 10sh. . .	£02 10 00
Redcliffe,	John Sterrey, Mr Gunner	00 17 06
Ordinance	Richard Hamans, Mate	00 14 00
15.	To four Gunners, each 10sh. . . .	02 00 00
Castle and Newgate,	John Robert, Mr Gunner	00 17 06
Ordinance	John Warden, Mate	00 14 00
16.	To eleaven Gunners, each 10sh. .	05 10 00
	Com'issary of Victualls	01 10 00
Frome Gate, & Pithay	William Purser	00 14 00
Gate Ordinance,	William Crookebank	00 14 00
2.		
	For makinge of Armes and Ammun'con	£350
	For finishinge the Workes	219
	Which is to be raised upon the Assigna'cons following, viz,	
	Out of the Hundreds of Som'set hereunto annexed, rated	
	weekly att may yield	850
	Out of the Hundreds of Wilt'es hereunto annexed, rated	
	weekly att may yield	500
	Out of the Hundred of Gloucester, being the whole Division	
	of Berkeley, rated Weekly att but may yield . .	300
	Out of Bristol, hereunto annexed, rated Weekly at	150
	Out of the Customes	200

“ The Hundreds of Som'sett, beinge the east division to bee established for the several garrisons aforesaid.

Barteliffe cum Bedminster.

Portbury.

Bren cum Wreinton.

Bempston.

Winterstoke.

12 hides cum Glaston.

Welsford cum Burgo.

Whitston.

Chew.

Chewton.

Keynesham.

Bathford cum Burgo.

Hainxton cum Claverton.

Wilbey cum lib'tat Hosethorne.

Froom cum lib'tat.

Almersdon cum lib'tat.

Catsash.

Norton Ferryes.

Brewton cum Burgo.

“ The Hundreds of Gloucester, beinge the whole division of Berkeley, to be established for the garrisons aforesaid.

Berkeley Hundred.

Crumbaldash Hundred.

Lanley cum Swinshed Hundred.

Thornebury Hundred.

Henbury Hundred.

Puckle-Church Hundred.

Barton Rs. Hundred.”



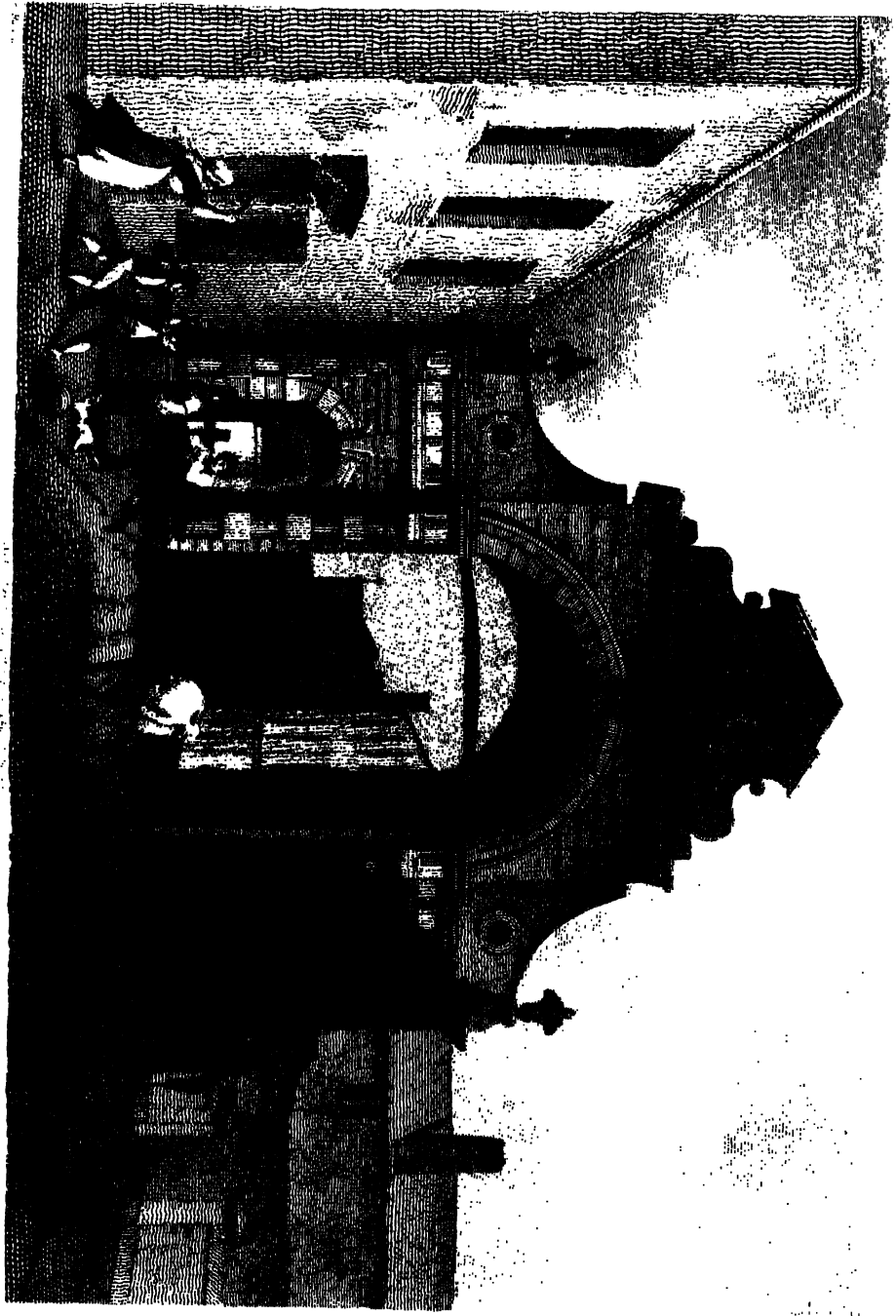
By this establishment, the treasurer had full power to demand such force as he might judge necessary to compel the payment of contribution to the garrison, subject only to his majesty's directions: thus the commission was held independent of any intermediate authority.

The sums which were payable in each county appear already in the schedule ; the only particulars which the author of this communication is possessed of, are as follow :

“ Hundred of Radcliffe cum Bed-		PER MONTH.		
minster payeth £200		£.	s.	d.
Long Ashton		40	0	0
Bedminster		40	0	0
Barron		20	0	0
Batcombe and Rigilberry		20	0	0
Backwell		33	6	8
Chelby		6	13	4
Winford		40	0	0
		<hr/>		
		£200	0	0
		<hr/>		
Portbury Hundred :				
Wraxall and Fayland		25	0	0
Naylsie		18	15	0
Broxton		6	5	0
Walton		7	2	4
Portbury		31	0	6
Abbots Leigh		16	10	8
St. George's		16	17	0
		<hr/>		
		£121	10	6”
		<hr/>		

Vestiges of the outworks of Bristol, beginning at the spot where the water-
fort was built, near the glass-house, in Limekiln-street, may yet be traced to

TEMPLE GATE.
1877.



where Brandon-Hill fort stood, and thence to the south-east corner of Berkeley-square. The line was continued by the west end of Park-street to the royal fort near the seat of Thomas Tyndall, Esq. and thence to Mr. Carden's garden near the Montague tavern, where remains of the redoubt, or Colston's fort, are still perceptible, and so on to Prior's-hill fort near the north end of St. James's Place and Somerset-street ; thence by Stoke's Croft, across the river Frome to Lawford's-gate, and onward to the bank of the Avon opposite Tower Harratz, whence the line of fortification extended by where Temple and Redcliff gates stood, to another part of the bank of the Avon, which completed the line of four miles in circumference. The works from Prior's-hill fort to Lawford's-gate were not five feet high, and the highest work of the royal fort not quite twelve feet. The ditch or trench which surrounded the works did not exceed seven feet wide, and five feet deep.

A line of fortification so imperfect, extensive, and inadequately defended by artillery, was insufficient for the protection of Bristol ; but as the garrison was supported by precarious monthly contributions raised in the city and its neighbourhood, the governor was not censurable for the weakness of the works. The civil war between the king and parliament affords indeed a memorable instance of the evils of despotism. Had King Charles been satisfied with the constitutional means of increase, he might have lived glorious and died lamented. The best defence of a prince is the affection of the people ; towers, cannon, and guards, sink beneath the energy of a nation roused in defence of its liberties ; and although a despot may, with temporary glory,

“ Comet-like, flame lawless through the void,

“ Destroying others, by himself destroy'd,

history clearly demonstrates how short, and how fatal, is the career of power, actuated by the folly of ambition, and the enormity of injustice.

CHAPTER THE SEVENTH.

CONTENTS.

Particulars of the Siege of Bristol in 1645—Preparations made by Fairfax and Cromwell to storm the City—Summons sent by Fairfax to the Governor Prince Rupert—His Answer—Several Propositions from Prince Rupert rejected by General Fairfax—Bristol stormed—Prince Rupert surrenders the City and Castle by Capitulation—Letter from the King to Prince Rupert on that Subject—The Prince vindicates his Conduct—Honourably acquitted by a Council of War, held before the King at Newark.

CHAPTER THE SEVENTH.

DURING the time that Prince Rupert was governor of Bristol, the fortifications of the city and castle were strengthened, and the peaceful pursuits of commerce interrupted by warlike preparation and discipline. While the city continued in possession of the royalists, its trade suffered annoyance from the fleet belonging to the parliament; though in some instances the commanders of ships of war manifested their attachment to the king, and detached themselves from the enemies of royalty. In the month of January, 1644, a new ship, called the *John*, of London, belonging to the English merchants who traded to the East Indies, was brought to Bristol by Captain Macknely, his officers, and ship's crew, for his majesty's service. This ship mounted twenty-six guns, and contained £17,000. in money, besides several valuable commodities. The Prince of Wales came to this city on the 10th of March following, and conferred the honour of knighthood on Captain Macknely. This was the only remarkable occurrence in this city during a period of more than two years that Prince Rupert continued governor. The army under Fairfax and Cromwell came before this city in the month of August, 1645, and after a siege of several days, it was taken by storm. The following are the authentic particulars of this memorable siege, during which the inhabitants of Bristol were in a state of

peculiar calamity, being at once exposed to the miseries of war, and a terrible pestilence, of which no less than one hundred and fifty persons died in a week.

“ After reducing Sherborn, Bristol being considered as the only considerable port the king had in the whole kingdom, for shipping, trade, and riches, and also a magazine for all sorts of ammunition and provisions, it was resolved to march thither for reducing that city.

“ Two thousand horse were sent before, under Commissary-General Ireton, to preserve the towns adjacent to Bristol from plunder and firing, for the better accommodation of our quarters ; and advice was sent to Vice-Admiral Captain Multon, riding about Milford-Haven, to send ships into King-road, to block up Bristol by sea, as this army intended to go by land.

“ Thursday, August 21, General Fairfax and Lieutenant-General Cromwell, went and viewed the town, which was now approached, appointed guards and quarters on the west side of the river, and quartered themselves at Kainsham that night, where divers lords sent for passes to come out of the city to go beyond sea, but were all denied.

“ Friday, 22, a general rendezvous of horse ; all this day spent in setting guards on Somerset side, where the country men maintained a passage, the head-quarters being this day removed to Hanham.

“ Saturday, 23, Fairfax and Cromwell employed the whole day in settling the quarters and grounds on the other side Bristol. The cannon played this day from the great fort, and Prior's-hill fort, but hurt none but one dragoon, who had his thigh shot off. The head quarters removed to Stapleton.

“ August 24.—The Lord's day. A sally out of the sally-port, near Prior's-hill fort, repulsed by Colonel Rainsborough's brigade and horse.

“ Tuesday, August 26.—A third sally on Somerset side, on a post of Colonel Welden’s, at Bedminster, ten killed, and as many wounded. Sir Bernard Ashley, a royalist, taken, and died a few days after of his wounds.

“ Thursday, 28.—The fort of Portishead Point, after four days siege, taken; with six pieces of ordnance, by which means a communication was laid open with the ships in Kingroad.

“ Friday, 29.—A fast observed by the army to ask God for a blessing upon the designs against Bristol. Mr. Del and Mr. Peters kept the day at the head-quarters, but were disturbed by a sally about noon upon the quarters at Lawford’s Gate; three or four soldiers taken.

“ August 31.—Captain Moulton, from Kingroad, held a meeting with the general, and offered to assist in storming the city with his scamen.

“ Monday, September 1.—Prince Rupert, with 1,000 horse, and 600 foot, sallied out about twelve at noon, the sixth time, in full career, upon our horse-guards, with much fierceness, and were made to retreat very hastily; Captain Guilliams killed, and Colonel Okey taken by Prince Rupert. Orders given to view the line and works, and the soldiers to make faggots, and all fitting preparations for a storm.

“ September 2.—After a council of war held, it was determined to storm Bristol; and the manner was referred to a committee of the colonels to present in writing to the general next morning, to be debated in a general council of war, which was agreed to be in the following manner. Colonel Welden, with his brigade of four regiments, were to storm in three places on the Somerset side; 200 men in the middle; 200 on each side as forlorn hopes to begin the storm; twenty ladders to each place; two men to carry each ladder, at twenty

shillings each. Each of the musketeers that followed the ladder to carry a faggot; a serjeant to command them, and to have the same reward. Twelve files of men, with fire-arms and pikes, to follow the ladders to each place where the storm was to be; those to be commanded each by a captain and lieutenant, the latter to go before with five files, the captain to second him with the other seven; the 200 men appointed to second the storm to furnish each party of them twenty pioneers, who were to march in their rear, the 200 men commanded each by a field officer, and the pioneers each by a serjeant; (those pioneers were to throw down the line to make way for the horse;) the party that was to make good the line to possess the guns, and turn them; a gentleman of the ordnance, gunners, and matrosses, to enter with the parties; the drawbridge to be let down; two regiments and a half to storm in after the foot, if way was made. Much after this manner was the general brigade under Colonel Montague's command, consisting of the General's, Col. Montague's, Col. Pickering's, and Sir Hardresse Waller's regiments, to storm on both sides Lawford's-gate, both to the river Avon, and the lesser river Froom; the bridge over Froom to be made good against horse with pikes, or to break it down. Colonel Rainsborough's brigade, consisting of his own, Major-General Skippon's, Colonel Hammond's, Colonel Birche's, and Colonel Pride's regiments, to storm on this side the Froom, beginning at the right hand of the sally port up to Prior's-hill fort, and to storm the fort itself as the main business; 200 of this brigade to go up in boats with the seamen to storm Waterfort (if it could be attempted;) one regiment of horse, and a regiment of foot, to be moving up and down in the closes before the royal fort, to ply hard upon it, with a field-officer to command them; the regiment of dragoons, with two regiments of horse, to carry ladders with them, and to attempt the line of works by Clifton and Washington's breach.

“ Such was the manner of storm agreed on; the cannon baskets were ordered to be filled, seamen and boats sent for, and on the 4th of September, the weather which had been extremely wet before, begun to alter, and the great guns

began to play from the new battery against Prior's-hill Fort. The following summons was also sent to the governor of the city.

To PRINCE RUPERT.

“ SIR,

“ For the service of the parliament, I have brought their own army before the city of Bristol, and do summon you in their names to render it, with all the forts belonging to the same, into my hands, for their use.—Having used this plain language, as the business requires, I wish it may be as effectual with you as it is satisfactory to myself, that I do a little expostulate with you, about the surrender of the same; which I confess is a way not common, and which I should not have so used, but in respect to a person of such sort, and in such a place: I take into consideration your royal and relation to the crown of England, your honour, courage, and all the virtues of your person, and the strength of that place, which you may think yourself bound and able to maintain. Sir, the crown of England is and will be where it ought to be; we fight to maintain it there; but the king, misled by evil counsellors, or through a seduced heart, has left his parliament and people, (under God, the best assurance of his family :) the maintaining of this schism is the ground of this unhappy war on your part; and what sad effect it hath produced in the three kingdoms, is visible to all men. To maintain the rights of the crown and the kingdom jointly, the principal part is, that the king, in supreme acts concerning the whole state, is not to be advised by men of whom the law takes no notice, but by the parliament, the great council of the nation, in whom (as much as man is capable of,) he hears all his people as it were, at once addressing him, and in which multitude of counsellors lies his safety, and his people's interest. To set him right in this hath been the constant and faithful endeavour of the parliament, and to bring those wicked instruments to justice, that have misled him, is a principal ground of our fighting. Sir, if God makes this clear to you,

as he hath to us, I doubt not but he will give you an heart to deliver this place, notwithstanding all the considerations of honour, courage, and fidelity, &c. because their consistency and use in the present business depends upon the right or wrongfulness of what has been said. And if, upon such conviction, you should surrender the city, and save the loss of blood, and the hazard of spoiling such a place, it would be an act glorious in itself, and joyful to us, for restoring you to the endeared affections of the parliament and people of England, the truest friends to your family it hath in the world. But if this be hid from your eyes, and so great, so famous, so ancient a city, so full of people, be exposed through your wilfulness in putting us to force the same to the ruin and extremity of war, (which yet we shall in that case as much as possible endeavour to prevent;) then I appeal to the righteous God, to judge between you and us, to requite the wrong; and let all England judge whether to burn its towns, and ruin its cities, and destroy its people, be a good requital from a person of your family, which have had the prayers, tears, money, and blood of this parliament; and if you look on either as now divided, both ever had the same party in parliament, and among the people most zealous for their assistance and restitution; which you now oppose and seek to destroy; and whose constant grief hath been, that their desire to serve your family hath been ever hindered, and made fruitless by that same party about his majesty, whose councils you act, and whose interest you pursue in this unnatural war. I expect your speedy answer to this summons by the return of the bearer this evening, and am,

“ Your Highness’s humble servant,

“ *Sept.* 4, 1645.

THO. FAIRFAX.”

(ANSWER.)

“ SIR,

“ I received your’s by your trumpet, and desire to know if you will give me leave to send a messenger to the king, to know his pleasure therein.

“ I am your servant,

“ RUPERT.”

(REPLY.)

“ SIR,

“ Your overture of sending to his majesty to know his pleasure, I cannot give way to, nor admit of so much delay as that would require; wherefore, thereby I cannot but understand your intention intimated not to surrender without his majesty's consent; yet because it is but implicit, I send you again to know more clearly, if you have any more positive answer to give from yourself, which I desire to receive; and which I desire may be such as may render me capable to approve myself

“ Your Highness's humble servant,

“ *Sept. 5, 1645.*

THO. FAIRFAX.”

“ From the 5th to the 9th of September, repeated propositions from Prince Rupert and General Fairfax were received and rejected; and, on the 10th, at two o'clock in the morning, the signal for the assault was given, by setting fire to some straw and faggots on the top of a hill, and firing four great guns from the general's station during the storm, which was an old farm-house opposite Prior's-hill fort. On the signal, the storm immediately began around the city, with all the combined horrors of darkness and carnage. Colonels Montague and Pickering, with their regiments, soon forced a passage at Lawford's-gate, where they seized the cannon, and made several of the garrison prisoners, Major Desborough advancing with the cavalry after them. Another brigade, commanded by Lient.-Colonel Jackson, scaled the works between Lawford's-gate and the river Froom; while Colonel Rainsborough's and Colonel Hammond's regiments entered near Prior's fort. Major-General Skippon's and Colonel Birche's regiments, entered nearer to the river Froom; and the regiment commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Pride was divided, part being detached to attack Prior's fort, and part to alarm the troops in the Royal fort.

“ After the line was broke down by the pursuers, and a gap made in the same, the horse with undaunted courage entered, and within the line met with

a party of the enemy's horse, put them to a retreat, mortally wounded Colonel Taylor, of which wounds he died, and took divers prisoners. This so disheartened their horse, that they never came on again to give one charge, but retreated, and stood in a body under the favour of the great fort, and Colston's fort.

“ In the meanwhile Prior's-hill fort obstinately held out, playing fiercely with great and small shot on our men, for two hours after the line was entered ; our men all that time in like manner plying them hard with musket shot in at the port-holes, until they brought up ladders to the fort ; but it being an high work, many of the ladders proved too short, through which fault some that got up were beaten down again. Notwithstanding, this disheartened them not, but up they went again upon the greatest danger and disadvantage, some at last creeping in at the port-holes, and others got on the top of the works ; Captain Lagoe, of Lieutenant-Colonel Pride's regiment, being the first man that laid hold on the colours, and in the end we forced the enemy within to run below into the inner rooms of the work, hoping to receive quarter ; but our soldiers were so little prepared to shew mercy, by the opposition they had met withal in the storm, and the refusal of quarter when it was offered, that they put to the sword the commander, Major Price, a Welshman, and almost all the officers, soldiers, and others in the fort, except a few which at the entreaty of our officers, were spared their lives. All this was done between two o'clock and five in the morning.

“ Most happy it was that the storm began so early, for otherwise had the enemy had day-light when we first entered, we could not have attempted Prior's-hill fort, in regard this great fort, and Colston's fort on the one side, and the castle on the other, might have cut off all our men as fast as they had been drawn up ; but being in the dark, they durst not fire for fear of killing their own men ; their horse during the storm being drawn up between the great fort and Colston's fort : but on Somerset side, success was not answerable to that on this side, our forces there being put to a retreat, though they went on with

much courage ; the works on that side were so high that the ladders could not near reach them, and the approach into the line of great disadvantage.

“ Lest during the storm the prince (in case he saw the town like to be lost) should endeavour to escape with his horse, to prevent the same, Commissary-General Ireton, Colonel Butler's, and Colonel Fleetwood's regiments of horse were appointed to be in a moving body upon Durdham-Down, that place being the most open way, and most likely for the prince to escape by ; besides part of those horse did alarm that side of the line, and the great fort towards Durdham-Down and Clifton during the storm ; as likewise to secure the fort, Colonel Okey's dragoons alarming Brandon-Hill fort, and the line towards Clifton.—About two hours after taking Prior's-hill fort, a trumpet came from the prince to desire a parley, which the general embraced *on account of the city's being set on fire in several places, and on condition of the fire being immediately stopt* : which was done accordingly, and so the treaty proceeded, and by seven at night was concluded according to articles.

“ I. That his Highness Prince Rupert, and all noblemen, officers, gentlemen, and soldiers, and all other persons whatsoever, now residing in the city of Bristol, and in the castle and forts thereof, shall march out of the said city and castle, and forts, with colours, drums, pikes, bag, and baggage. The prince his highness, gentlemen, and officers in commission, with their horse and arms, and their servants with their horse and swords, and common soldiers with their swords, the prince's life-guard of horse with their horse and arms, and 250 horse besides to be disposed of by the prince, and his life-guard of fire-locks with their arms, with each of them a pound of powder, and a proportion of bullet ; and that none of the persons, who are to march out under this article, are to be plundered, searched, or molested.

“ II. That such officers and soldiers that shall be left sick or wounded, in the city, castle, or forts, shall have liberty to stay till their recovery, and then shall have safe conduct to go to his majesty, and in the interim to be protected.

“ III. That such persons above-mentioned, who are to march away, shall have sufficient convoy provided for them to such garrison of the king as the prince shall name, not exceeding fifty miles from Bristol, and shall have eight days allowed them to march thither, and shall have free quarter by the way, and shall have two officers to attend them for their accommodation, and twenty waggons for their baggage, if they shall have occasion to use them.

“ IV. That all the citizens of Bristol, and all noblemen, gentlemen, clergymen, and all other persons residing in the said city and suburbs, shall be saved from all plunder and violence, and be secured in their persons and estates from the violence of the soldiers, and shall enjoy those rights and privileges which other subjects enjoy under the protection and obedience to the parliament.

“ V. That in consideration thereof, the city of Bristol, with the castle, and all other forts and fortifications thereof, and all the ordnance, arms, and ammunition, and all other furniture and provisions of war, excepting what is before allowed, shall be delivered up to Sir Thomas Fairfax to-morrow, being Thursday, the 11th of this instant September, by one o'clock in the afternoon, without any diminution or embezzlement, his Highness Prince Rupert then naming to what army or garrison of the king's he will march.

“ VI. That none of the army, who are to march out on this agreement, shall plunder, hurt, or spoil the town, or any person in it, or carry any thing but what is properly his own.

“ VII. That upon these articles being signed, Colonel Okey, and all persons now in prison in the city of Bristol, and the castle and forts of the same, shall immediately be set at liberty.

“ VIII. That sufficient hostages be given to Sir Thomas Fairfax, and such as he shall approve this night, who are to remain with him until the city be delivered.

“ IX. That neither the convoy nor officers sent with the prince shall receive any injury in their going and coming back, and shall have seven days allowance for their return.

“ X. That upon delivering of the town, sufficient hostages be given for the performance of the articles on both parts.

“ Signed by us, commissioners on the behalf of his Highness Prince Rupert,

“ JOHN MYNNE,

“ W. TILLYER,

“ W. VAVASOUR.

“ Signed by us, commissioners on the behalf of Sir Thomas Fairfax,

“ ED. MONTAGUE,

“ T. RAINSBOROUGH,

“ JOHN PICKERING.”

Such was the termination of the siege of Bristol. In the storm several of the parliament officers were killed, and many wounded. While Sir Thomas Fairfax, and Oliver Cromwell, were sitting on the top of Prior's-hill fort, a cannon-ball from the castle grazed upon the wall within a foot of them, but without doing them any injury.

On Thursday, the 11th of September, Prince Rupert marched out of the great fort, accompanied by eight lords, and several ladies and gentlemen. General Fairfax escorted his highness about two miles, and multitudes of the country people assembled to see the prince and his garrison marching off. Many of the spectators cried out, “ *give them no quarter, give them no quarter,*” for the outrages committed by the garrison had provoked the people. Nay, it is even recorded that “ the cause of sitting down before Bristol, was to prevent the plunder and cruelties of Prince Rupert in that country.”* But this censure is too severe; the prince was a brave man, and as no particular instance is mentioned of his inhumanity, this misrepresentation of his character probably proceeded from party malevolence.

Bristol was an important acquisition to the parliament. In the city, castle, and forts, were taken 140 pieces of cannon, and 100 barrels of gunpowder. The great fort and castle had provisions for 150 men for 350 days. According to the account given by Mr. Creswick, the mayor, to Oliver Cromwell, the garrison consisted of 2500 infantry, 1,000 cavalry, and 1,500 trained bands and auxiliaries; but there marched out only 500 cavalry, and 1,400 infantry, the rest being killed, wounded, or having made their escape. The besiegers lost 160 men, including seven officers. Major-General Skippon was appointed governor of the city and castle; Mr. Creswick, the mayor, was displaced; and Mr. John Gunning, who had been sheriff in 1631, put in his office.

A short time before the siege of Bristol, King Charles, who was in South Wales, resolved to make this city his head-quarters, and had actually advanced to Chepstow, where he was met by Prince Rupert. But the irresolution which marked the councils of this unfortunate sovereign prevailed; he continued in Wales, and was levying troops for the relief of the garrison

* Whitlocke.

of Bristol, when he received the dreadful news of its surrender. Prince Rupert was severely censured by the king, in the following letter, written from Hereford.

“ NEPHEW,

“ Tho’ the loss of Bristol be a great blow to me, yet your surrendering it as you did is so much affliction to me, that it makes me not only forget the consideration of that place, but is likewise the greatest trial of my constancy that hath yet befallen me. For what is to be done, after one that is so near to me both in blood and friendship, submits himself to so mean an action? I give it the easiest terms such — — I have so much to say, that I will say no more of it, only lest rashness of judgment be laid to my charge, I must remember you of your letter of the 12th of August, whereby you assured me, that if no mutiny happened, you would keep Bristol for four months. Did you keep it four days? Was there any thing like a mutiny? More questions might be asked, but now I confess to little purpose. My conclusion is, to desire you to seek your subsistence, until it shall please God to determine of my condition somewhere beyond sea, to which end I send you herewith a pass, and I pray God to make you sensible of your present condition, and give you means to redeem what you have lost; for I shall have no greater joy in a victory than a just occasion, without blushing, to assure you of my being

“ Your loving uncle, and

“ Most faithful friend,

“ C. R.”

It is evident, however, from the particulars of the siege and surrender of Bristol, that the city was no longer tenable. During the storm the assailants obtained possession of the line and works to the extent of a mile on the strongest part of the fortification; the city was on fire in several places; the whole of Temple-street was burnt down, and Prince Rupert had no other

way left to save himself, the garrison, and the place, from total destruction, but by those very favourable articles of capitulation which he obtained. Yet the royalists were so dissatisfied, that he published a vindication of his conduct in a pamphlet, entitled, “ A Declaration and Narrative of the State of the Garrison, and of the City of Bristol, in 1645.” As this publication affords much information, respecting the state of Bristol, and its inhabitants, at the most important juncture recorded in its history, the following extract will doubtless prove interesting to the general reader, as well as the native citizen.

“ On Prince Rupert’s coming to Bristol, the constitution of the garrison had, by the establishment, contributions settled for 3,600 men, for that and the subordinate garrisons, at Nunney, Portsend Point, &c. but on his exacter enquiry, the presidiary soldiers which went for eight or nine hundred men, were really in the judgment of honest and judicious persons betwixt five and six hundred effective ; the auxiliary and trained bands, by interruption of trade, and by the pestilence then raging there, and by poverty and pressures laid upon them, were reduced to 800 ; and the mariners betook themselves to other parts, or the enemy. The commissioners entrusted for the contribution and support of the garrison, abandoned the town upon the enemy’s approach ; and many considerable persons had leave to quit the town, which disheartened the rest. For securing the place, his highness drew in so many as to make 2,800 men upon sight. But after the enemy approached, he could never draw up on the line 1,500, and it was impossible to keep them from getting over the works, and many of those were new levied Welch, and inexperienced men. The line to be defended was above four miles in compass, the breast-work low and thin, the graff very narrow and of no depth, and by the opinion of all the colonels, not tenable on a brisk and vigorous assault. The great fort, which had the reputation of strength, lay open to Brandon-hill fort, which, if taken, would, from its height with the cannon, command the whole

plain within it ; and the want of water was not to be borne many days. For the like consideration of danger to the line from another part, his highness built a redoubt without, which on that side prevented the enemy from erecting a battery, as likewise three others during the siege, and drew a line of five hundred feet. After the misfortune which happened to Lord Goring's army, the loss of Bridgwater and Sherborn, and upon his majesty's sudden recess out of Wales, the prince conceiving it would be best for his majesty's affairs to remain here, and that the enemy's designs would be for Bristol after their former successes, he gave orders for all the inhabitants to victual themselves for six months ; and upon strict survey, there were 2,500 families then remaining in the city, whereof 1,500, through indigence and want, could not provide for themselves. To supply this defect, 2,000 bushels of corn were imported from Wales ; and on the certain approach of the enemy, all the cattle thereabouts were ordered to be drove in, by parties commanded out for that purpose. The ammunition was scant, considering there were in the forts, castle, line, and streets, above one hundred cannon mounted ; the quantity of powder not exceeding 130 barrels, and at his highness's coming in, there were not musket-balls for three hours fight ; therefore, he caused great quantities of lead to be cast into bullets ; and the manufacture of match was quite down, and set up by his highness during the siege.

“ These preparations made the colonels of posts to be consulted about the tenableness of the line ; their judgment was, that notwithstanding the works and lines were very defective, the circuit large, the soldiers few ; yet, if a general storm could be once repelled, the enemy would be discouraged from attempting a second time, and the season of the year might incommode the besiegers.—On which account they determined upon the best general defence to be made upon the whole, wherein all might share alike.

“ A general defence being fixed on, the colonels were all ordered to the several posts and forts upon the line ; and his highness being solicitous for

securing the place, the enemy on the 22d of August, appeared on Pill-Hill, on the south side of the town; he sent a party of horse, commanded by Sir Richard Crome (who in that action received his death's wound) to encounter them: a little before that, Bedminster was fired, on intelligence that the enemy that night intended to quarter 2,000 men in it, and notwithstanding the fire, they drew thither, and plied their small shot all night.—August 23d. The prince caused a traverse or blind of earth to be made within the draw-bridge at Temple-gate, and a battery raised in the Marsh, for securing the river, and the fields beyond it. The enemy began some breast-works, and a battery on the hill without Temple-gate, with a traverse across the way to hinder our sallies.

“ Instructions for delivering the city up to the parliament, signed Thomas Fairfax, and Oliver Cromwell, were privately sent to the citizens, August 25, 1645. Upon the intercepting these papers, his highness caused seven active and suspected persons to be restrained, which prevented the design, and by his personal presence, prevented the great fort from surprizal; and in the mean time, to interrupt the enemy's working, made several sallies, which all succeeded according to the design. August 26, soon after the storm being expected by the enemy's drawing together great bodies of horse and foot, his highness double-manned the line, but nothing followed.—August 28. Five parliament ships entered King-road, and forced Captain Browne, who commanded the Tenth Whelpe, to run up the Severn for security.—August 29. The enemy was making a bridge over the Avon, to conjoin their quarters.—September 3. His highness began a work or cutting off within the line by Lawford's-gate, when Sir Thomas Fairfax sent a summons to surrender.

“ The castle and great fort indeed might have held out for some time, but no assistance from the west, nor from the king, was to be relied on; and the enemy could have blocked up the castle, and advanced 12,000 men to have fought a battle if required, or else have secured themselves with the lines

against all opposition. Besides, it appeared they were so absolutely masters of all the passes, and had so barricaded up the ways, that a small force might have hindred now a great army. And at that time General Pointz so closely observed his majesty's motions, that relief was very improbably to be expected, and Colonel Massey was on the watch to intercept Lord Goring; and as the line was forced, Prior's-Hill fort, an important place, lost, the officer to whose trust it was committed, deserting it, (who never since that time appeared, and who was said to have been killed,) the city on resistance must have been exposed to the spoil and ruin of the enemy; so many gallant men, who had so long and faithfully served his majesty (whose safeties his highness conceived himself in honour obliged to preserve as dearly as his own) had been left to the slaughter and rage of a prevailing enemy; and the Scots being, on the 8th of September, at Gloucester, an intermediate place near which his majesty must have marched to the relief of Bristol, cut off all hopes of succour from him."

At a council of war, held before the king at Newark, on the 18th and 21st of October, Prince Rupert produced this narrative of facts in his own justification; and on a full hearing, his majesty was pleased to declare that "his nephew was not guilty of the least want of courage or fidelity to him;" and the royal decision was confirmed by the unanimous opinion of the council.

CHAPTER THE EIGHTH.

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CHAPTER THE EIGHTH.

DURING the memorable year 1645, the inhabitants of Bristol suffered the combined evils of war and pestilence, it being computed that 3,000 persons died in this city of the plague, exclusive of those that perished by the sword. Soon after the surrender of the city to Fairfax, all the clergy here who were suspected of disaffection to parliament, were deprived of their livings, and others appointed in their stead. Hence party rancour prevailed over that cordial unanimity for which the peaceful and industrious citizens of Bristol had been distinguished; the concussions of civil warfare interrupted manufactures; foreign and domestic traffick suffered a temporary suspension, and anarchy threatened the dissolution of the body politic

In the year 1646, a fire broke out in the house of an apothecary on the bridge, and burnt all the houses on both sides, to the number of twenty-four, from the chapel to St. Nicholas's Gate. The licentiousness of the soldiers who composed the garrison of this city, under General Skippon, was intolerable to the inhabitants; and it is recorded that in 1647 a party of the soldiery seized one of the aldermen, and refused to release him till they received a month's pay, and indemnity for the outrage. Indeed the country was, in a great

degree, under martial law for some time prior to the trial and decapitation of Charles I. and after that event the constitution was subverted by a military usurper.—Royalty was abolished by proclamation in 1648, and the mayor of Bristol proclaimed the successors of Charles I. traitors to the state.

In 1649 the citizens of Bristol were, by an act of parliament, obliged to pay £168. 19. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$. monthly, towards the maintenance of the army : the commissioners were the mayor for the time being, five aldermen, and nine of the principal inhabitants. On the 7th of July this year, Lieutenant-General Oliver Cromwell came to this city, and sailed for Ireland, of which he was appointed chief governor by the parliament.

When the Prince of Wales, who was at the Hague, received the melancholy news of his father's death, he assumed the title of king, and appointed his confidential adherents to be his privy counsellors. He embarked from Holland in June, 1650, and landed in Scotland, where he was acknowledged by the principal nobility as their lawful sovereign, and an army raised in support of his pretensions. When the parliament received intelligence of this circumstance, Oliver Cromwell, who had been victorious against the Irish, was recalled. On his arrival in London, he received the thanks of parliament for his public services in Ireland; and on the resignation of General Fairfax, he was appointed commander in chief of the army, and sent with 19,000 veterans to Scotland, against the king. On the 3d of September, 1650, Cromwell defeated the Scottish army at Dunbar, and immediately marched to Edinburgh, which opened its gates, but the castle did not surrender till after a close siege of three months.

King Charles II. arrived at Scone on the 1st of January, 1651, and at the head of an army of 15,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry, he marched to Torward, between Edinburgh and Sterling, where he formed an entrenched camp. Cromwell with his usual promptitude, marched to attack the royal forces, but found

them so strongly posted, that he was unable to force their entrenchments; he therefore conveyed his army by sea into the county of Fife, in order to cut off the King's supplies; and Charles, availing himself of the opportunity, marched into England, where he was joined by a few friends. After a fatiguing march, the King at the head of his army arrived at Worcester, on the 22d of August. He was received with the utmost respect by the magistrates, and solemnly proclaimed in that city; and this favourable reception induced him to stop for a few days, that his troops might rest, after which he purposed to march to London.

In the mean time Cromwell pursued the King, with an army superior to that of his Majesty, both in number and discipline. On the 3d of September, the two armies came to a general action, in the vicinity of Worcester; where, after a contest of some hours, in which the King signalized his courage, he was defeated and compelled to enter the city, whither the royalists were pursued by the enemy, and the principal part of the infantry either slain or taken prisoners. The King himself escaped in the disguise of a rustic, to Boscobel, on the borders of Staffordshire; where he concealed himself in an oak tree, in the thickest part of a wood, during a strict search of his enemies, and travelled only in the night, accompanied by his faithful guide, Richard Pendrell. In his progress towards Bristol, he was pursued by a party of the enemy to the new ferry over the Severn. "He rode through Shire Newton, and crossed the Severn at Chiswell Pitt, on the Gloucestershire side. The boat had scarcely returned, before a corps of about sixty republicans followed him to the Black Rock, and instantly compelled the boatmen, with drawn swords, to ferry them across. The boatmen, who were loyalists, left them on a reef called English Stones, which is separated from the Gloucester side by a lake fordable at low water; but the tide, which had just turned, flowed in with great rapidity, and they were all drowned in attempting to cross. Cromwell, informed of this unfortunate event, abolished the ferry; and it was not renewed until the year

1748. The renewal occasioned a law-suit between the family of St. Pierre and the Duke of Beaufort's guardians. In the course of the suit, depositions taken before a commission of Chancery held at Bristol, went evidently to prove the undoubted right of Mr. Lewis to the ferry, and to confirm the above interesting anecdote."*

The king had been conducted by Richard Pendrell to Mr. Lane's, in Staffordshire, where he was concealed nearly a week, and afterwards, according to a concerted plan, he rode disguised like a servant before Mrs. Lane, who called him William, to the seat of Mr. Norton, at Abbot's Leigh, near Bristol. Lord Clarendon, who has given an authentic and circumstantial account of his majesty's escape, says, "There was no resting in any place till they came to Mr. Norton's; nor any thing extraordinary happened in the way, save that they met many people every day in the way, who were well known to the king; and the day that they went to Mr. Norton's, they were necessitated to ride quite through the city of Bristol, a place and people the king had been so well acquainted with, that he could not but send his eyes abroad, to view the great alterations that had been made there; and when he rode near the place where the great fort had stood, he could not forbear putting his horse out of the way, and rode with his mistress behind him around it."†

From Abbot's Leigh, the king went to Col. Francis Windham's, at Trent, not far from Sherborn, intending to take shipping for France at Lynne. But being disappointed, he rode in disguise before a young gentleman from Trent to Salisbury Plain, where he was met by Doctor Henchman, who conducted him to Heal, and thence to Stonehenge, where Lady Wilmot, a faithful friend, met and conducted him to Sussex, where he embarked in a small vessel at Bright-helmstone, and sailed for Normandy, where he was safely landed in the month

* Fosbrooke's History of Gloucestershire, Vol. I. p. 57.

† Lord Clarendon's History, Vol. III. p. 419.

of November. When this royal exile arrived at Paris, he was neglected by the court of France, and obliged to depend upon his mother's pension for a maintenance. Such was the deplorable state of indigence to which the lawful sovereign of this great nation was reduced by adversity.

In 1651, the Lord Deputy Ireton, son-in-law to Oliver Cromwell, died in Ireland. The vessel in which his body was conveyed to England came into King-road, notice of which being sent to the Mayor of Bristol, he sent a boat covered with black, in which the corpse was brought to this city. When it was landed, a velvet pall was put over the coffin, and the mayor, aldermen, and common-council, in their formalities, and the governor and his officers, with a multitude of the citizens, attended the body. On this occasion the great guns were fired from the castle and fort. These pompous ceremonies in honour of the dead, was a striking contrast to the obscurity with which Charles II. was obliged to pass through this city.

Soon after the exaltation of Oliver Cromwell to the sovereign power, under the title of Lord Protector, he issued orders for the demolition of the castle of Bristol, which was begun on the 3d of January, 1655; and in the course of the following year, a new road was made into the county of Gloucester, through the place on which the fortress formerly stood. A gate was erected in 1659, called Castle-Gate, which was taken down in 1766. Cromwell, who was convinced of the general adherence of the inhabitants of Bristol to royalty, probably thought it expedient to deprive them of the protection of a fortress.

During the protectorate of Cromwell, the Quakers suffered a severe persecution. Preachers of that sect first came to Bristol in the year 1653; and on the 13th of November, 1656, James Nailor, and Dorcas Erbury, were summoned to appear before the parliament in London. James Nailor was sentenced by the

parliament to a severe punishment, which was executed in Bristol on the 17th of January, 1757, according to the following order.

“ Cause James Nailor to ride in at Lawford’s-gate upon a horse bare ridged, with his face backward; from thence along Wine-street to the Tolzey; thence down High-street over the bridge, and out of Rackly-gate; there let him alight, and bring him into Saint Thomas-street, and cause him to be stript and made fast to the cart-horse; and there in the market first whipped; from thence to the foot of the bridge, there whipt; thence to the end of the bridge, there whipt; thence to the middle of High-street, there whipt; thence to the Tolzey, there whipt; thence to the middle of Broad-street, there whipt, and then turn into Tailor’s-hall, thence release him from the cart-horse, and let him put on his cloaths, and carry him from thence to Newgate by Tower-lane the back way.

“ There did ride before him, bare-headed, Michael Stamper, singing most part of the way, and several other friends, men and women; the men went bare-headed by him, and Robert Rich, (late merchant of London) rode by him bare-headed, and singing, till he came to Redcliff-gate, and there the magistrates sent their officers and brought him back on horseback to the Tolzey, all which way he rode singing very loud, where the magistrates met. It seems James Nailor is not noticed in the sufferings of the Quakers, being justly censured by the generality of them, till he had passed the bitter pangs of a sincere repentance. Howbeit it was very observable, that he endured his extreme punishment with a patience and magnanimity astonishing to the beholders; and many were of opinion, that had not the blindness of their zeal who condemned him, been at least equal to the blackness of his guilt, a punishment much more moderate might have sufficed.” This rigorous punishment was inflicted according to the sentence of a bigotted parliament; and not by the desire of Cromwell, who was naturally brave, and no persecutor.

On the 8th of December, 1657, the following letter from the Lord Protector was received by the Mayor of Bristol.

“ OLIVER, P.

“ Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: remembering well the late expressions of love that I have had from you, I cannot omit any opportunity to express my care of you. I do hear on all hands, that the cavalier party are designing to put us into blood. We are, I hope, taking the best care we can, by the blessing of God, to obviate this danger; but our intelligence on all hands being that they have a design upon your city, we could not but warn you thereof, and give you authority, as we do hereby, to put yourselves into the best posture you can, for your own defence, by raising your militia by virtue of the commission formerly sent you, and putting them in a readiness for the purpose aforesaid; letting you also know, that for your better encouragement herein, you shall have a troop of horse sent you to quarter in or near your town. We desire you to let us hear, from time to time, what occurs, touching the malignant party, and so bid you farewell. Given at Whitehall, the 2d December, 1657.

“ To our trusty and well-beloved the mayor, aldermen, and common-council of the city of Bristol.”

From the tenor of this letter, it is evident that the usurper was apprehensive of the friends of royalty, although King Charles, almost destitute of resources, then lived in obscurity in a foreign country. But perhaps this precaution was dictated by the prudence or suspicion of the Protector, whose apparent zeal for the protection of the citizens, by sending “ a troop of horse to quarter in or near the town,” seems to indicate his doubt of their attachment. According to his command, the militia of the city was raised, which probably contributed to the tranquillity of the place

The following instance of that temporising disposition common among mankind, is extracted from *Mercurius Politicus*, a newspaper published during the interregnum. It is dated the 3d of July, 1658, and is descriptive of the pompous reception of Richard Cromwell, eldest son to the Protector.

“ On Thursday last the most illustrious lord, the Lord Richard Cromwell, (having received two or three invitations in the name of this city) set forward from Bath hither, attended by a numerous train of gentry, and was met three miles from the town by the sheriffs, accompanied with at least two hundred horse, whence after their salutation and compliment in the name of the city, they conducted his lordship, with his lady, and the Hon. Col. William Cromwell, Mr. Dunche, &c. into Bristol, waited on by near four hundred horse, at whose entry the artillery was fired from the Marsh, and the ships that lay in the road ; and his lordship, riding forward, was encountered by the mayor and aldermen, and was by them waited on to a house provided for his lordship, at Colonel Aldworth's, in Broad-street, and there received with hearty demonstrations of their affection to their highnesses, (whom they said they had formerly the honour to see there) and particularly to his lordship. The next day his lordship rode out to be witness to the beauty of the place, and was at his return entertained with a noble dinner, at which it is observable that (although there were plenty of wine, &c.) yet there was so much respect paid to their prudent orders and civil decorum, that that great entertainment was void of that rudeness, and excess, and noyse, into which the liberty of feasts, in these our days, doe often betray their guests.

“ The same evening his lordship passing thro' another part of the city, round the Town Marsh, was complimented with the discharge of the great guns upon the place, and in his way forth treated particularly by the mayor with a banquet, &c. and returned safe to Bath. Throughout this whole entertainment, there appeared as clear a face of duty and good affection, as ever was seen at

any time upon the like occasion: yet it is no more than what is paid to that noble lord in every place, by such as have had the honour to observe his great humanity, joyned with so great hopes, and the noblest inclinations of a virtuous mind."

But the short, though triumphant irruption of Oliver Cromwell, was drawing near to a termination. In the month of August, 1658, he was seized with a fever at Hampton-Court, and his distemper daily increasing, he was brought to Whitehall, where, after having nominated his son Richard for his successor, he expired on the 3d of September, in the fifty-eighth year of his age.

On the day after the demise of Oliver Cromwell, his son Richard was proclaimed at London, Protector of the Common Wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and a similar proclamation was made without opposition in the principal towns of the three kingdoms. The following is an account of the procession, ceremonies, and rejoicings in Bristol, on that occasion.

"The certain tydings of the deccase of his late highness Oliver Lord Protector, and the news of proclaiming his now highness the Lord Richard, came to our city this day by the post, with an order from the council, for the proclaiming of him here likewise with all speed, which order being communicated by the mayor to the common-council, direction was presently given for putting all things in the best readiness could be, for such a solemnity, which indeed was performed the best that ever was in this place, upon such an occasion. The order whereof was thus: the place of meeting was the Guildhall; the several livery companies in their gowns, and with their banners, went first; after them the drums of the city regiment, and the serjeants with all their halberts, and then the militia officers; after them the several civil officers belonging to the corporation, with the city musicians playing; and then followed the mayor and common-council in scarlet. Being come to the Cross and near

about it, the trumpets sounding, the drums beating, and the music playing, the sheriffs in their scarlet went up into the Cross, and there one of them read the proclamation, according to order; which being ended, there was a very great acclamation of the people, with sounding of trumpets, &c. The whole companies aforesaid brought the mayor to his house, and then returned to their several homes. All this was seconded with the firing of many great guns in the Marsh, ringing of bells, bonfires, and discharging of the great guns in the ships; the concourse of people attending this service was very great, considering the shortness of time for their appearance; and indeed all was carried on and done in the best manner, and with the highest affection that could possibly be."

But although the Protector Richard received addresses from boroughs, cities, and counties, to the number of ninety, and had similar compliments paid him by all the regiments without exception, he soon felt his inability to rule the factions then prevalent in England. In 1659, the officers of the army appointed Fleetwood, son-in-law to the late protector, commander in chief, and compelled Richard to dissolve the parliament. Soon afterwards the protector resigned his authority, and the government was in a state of anarchy. In January, 1660, General Monck, at the head of the Scotch army, entered England, and marched without opposition to London. On the 5th of February he went to parliament, and received the compliments and thanks of the speaker, in behalf of the house.

At this period, the city of Bristol was exposed to the danger of an insurrection. The mayor had forbidden the inhuman practice of throwing at cocks on Shrove-Tuesday; but the apprentices, exasperated at being deprived of this annual amusement, "did rise in a riotous and tumultuous manner, and assembled in the Marsh. To obey the mayor's orders, they squailed at geese, and tossed bitches and cats before his door; and the sheriff had his head broke for endeavouring to drive them away."

The following is a circumstantial account of this insurrection, which appears to have originated in political rancour.

“ Bristol, February 6th, 1660.

“ Here hath been a great disorder in this city, where two troops of horse being designed to come, could not gain admittance. Those masters of families, who underhand hatched and fomented the tumult, were so wary as not to appear themselves, but set on their apprentices, who with the meaner sort, ran up and down the streets, crying out, “ A free Parliament !” In this confusion they shewed who they were for, by falling foul upon such as have stood in all times most firmly to the interest of parliament and common wealth, many of whose houses they forced open, and took away all the arms from them that they could find, and from some more than their arms. By this means the rabble being up, the magistrates were at a stand, and knew not well what to do a good while ; but at last they in prudence so ordered the matter, that hearing how the common cry went, they had conference with some of the leaders, and to pacify them, told them, that if they would have their desire, this was not the way to get it; and that if they would proceed orderly, and join with them in an address to parliament, they might be successful. The multitude hearing this, began to cool, and at length dismissing their guards which they had set in several parts, they retired to their several houses. Presently upon their pacification, the magistrates took the opportunity to disperse, and settle their militia in such a manner, that all is quiet, and we doubt not they will prevent the like disturbances for the future.

“ February 10th. This day se’nnight the apprentices and others broke out into an insurrection, and secured the main-guard before any company could be raised to suppress them, and continued increasing daily in great numbers, notwithstanding all endeavours used to suppress them, declaring for a free parliament, and some for Charles Stuart; and they gave out that they should be backed

with numbers of men from the adjacent counties, setting a guard upon the mayor in his own house. They did beat up drums round about the city, and made great brags what they would do, being the more confident, because several of the gentry came into them out of the country. Nevertheless, when Major Izod's first party appeared near the city, (which was about two miles before his body) the apprentices began to divide, and promised the magistrates they would lay down their arms, and return home to their masters; but afterwards failed in the performance thereof, through the persuasion of their abettors. But at length they began to alter again, hearing that Major Izod was at hand, and resolved to make his way into town. So their ringleaders deserted them, and the multitude returned to their own homes, some hours before the coming in of the said major, who yesterday in the evening had free entrance with four troops of horse. Captain Vicarage, with a company of the trained bands, entertained him at the gate, and Captain Kelly, with another company of the trained bands, kept the ground last night. This day the mayor made proclamation that all men should bring in their arms that were in the late insurrection. We are now all in peace and quiet, and are upon enquiry after the abettors and promoters of this disturbance, the heads whereof are fled.—Feb. 18th. This city is quiet again; six hundred of Colonel Twisleton's regiment are come hither. Nevertheless, when last Thursday night, news came from London of a free parliament, the multitude shewed themselves so far only, as to make bonfires and ring bells through the city; but in half an hour's space the bonfires were extinct, and the bells made to cease. But the same humour runs in most towns hereabout."

THE
HISTORY OF BRISTOL.

IN TWO VOLUMES.



THE
HISTORY OF BRISTOL,
CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL;

INCLUDING

Biographical Notices

or

EMINENT AND DISTINGUISHED NATIVES.

Urbs antiqua

Dives opum.

Like some renown'd Metropolis
With glittering Spires and Pinnacles adorn'd.

VOLUME II.

BY THE REV. JOHN EVANS,

Author of "The Ponderer."

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CHAPTER THE FIRST.

TO allay the tumults of civil commotion, and to re-establish the public tranquillity, it was determined to place Charles II. on the throne of his ancestors. From this restoration of the house of Stuart, Bristol derived very considerable advantages. In the year 1664, four years after the king had ascended the throne, he granted a confirmation of the charters of Charles I.* by which the Castle, together with the houses and gardens within the Castle Precincts, were separated from the county of Gloucester and were made part of the city and county of Bristol. Nor did royal munificence confine itself to the confirmation of these charters. In the year 1683 a new charter was granted, by which it was established that Bristol should be a city incorporate and county within itself, and by which its corporation was regulated and established.†

* See Vol. I. page 395.

† The following abridgment of this charter having been found, upon a comparison with the original, sufficiently accurate, it is here introduced from Barrett:—

“ Charles II. granted a new charter, by which he confirms it as a city incorporate and county within itself, with the same bounds usually enjoyed, and grants the same powers to the mayor and two sheriffs, that they may

In the year 1685 when the faction of the unfortunate Monmouth threatened to subvert the established government, it appears that considerable alarm was excited in Bristol as well as in every city of importance in the west of England. The Duke of Beaufort who was then lord lieutenant of the city was as decisive in his plans as he was active in his preparations; and by his prudence and energy saved the city from the accumulated horrors of a rebel siege.

From the conduct of the lord lieutenant we may conjecture that the partizans of Monmouth were by no means inconsiderable in Bristol, for we find him threatening to set fire to the town in case of an insurrection. Whether the duke had received any secret assurances of support from the citizens, or an insurrection in his favour was only apprehended by the lord lieutenant, it is now impossible to determine, and therefore useless to conjecture. It is certain

have a common seal, and take the oaths of allegiance and the oaths appointed by act of parliament for corporations; that the common council-men may not exceed forty-three, to continue for their natural lives; who are to have power to make laws, but not contrary to the statutes of the realm, and to be in force but one year if the lord chancellor approves not thereof. The mayor and sheriffs to be always chosen the 15th of September, and all the oaths administered the 29th. If the mayor or sheriff die, another to be elected by the common council. A recorder to be chosen, a barrister of five years standing, to be approved under the royal hand. That there be twelve aldermen; the recorder to be the senior. That they be resident in the city, and no one elected for mayor, or sheriff, or alderman, that shall voluntarily absent himself when to be sworn; and a fine not exceeding £500. be imposed on those refusing to serve when chosen, unless they swear they are not worth £2,000. The mayor and aldermen to be justices of the peace, and to punish offenders at the sessions four times a year. That a town-clerk be chosen by them, a barrister of three years; and a steward of the sheriffs' court; also two coroners. The mayor to have the regulation of the markets, and may have three fairs for wool, &c. the 18th of April, the 10th of June, and the first Thursday after Michaelmas, to be kept in King-Street; and five other fairs for horses, the 25th of January in Temple-Street, on the 25th and 26th of March at Redcliff-Hill, on the 25th and 26th May in Broadmead, on the 25th, 26th, and 27th of September in Temple-Street, and on the 25th, 26th, and 27th of November on Redcliff-Hill; also that they may keep the piedpowder-court there at the said fairs, with the liberties and customs thereof. 1683. Witness myself at Westminster, the 2d of June, the 36th year of our reign.

“Pigot.”

from the testimony of one of the most eminent of modern historians,* that when the duke arrived at Shepton Mallet from Glastonbury, the project of an attack upon Bristol was first communicated by him to his officers. After some discussion it was agreed that the attack should be made upon the Gloucestershire side of the city, and with that view it was determined to pass the Avon at Keynsham-bridge, a few miles from Bristol. In their march from Shepton Mallet the troops were harassed in their rear by a party of horse and dragoons; but lodged quietly during the night in the village of Pensford. A detachment was sent early the next morning to possess itself of Keynsham, and to repair the bridge, which might, probably, be broken down to prevent a passage. Upon their approach, a troop of the Gloucestershire militia abandoned the town in great precipitation, leaving behind them two horses and one man. By break of day the bridge, which had not been much injured, was repaired, and before noon Monmouth, having passed it with his whole army, was in full march to Bristol; which he determined to attack the ensuing night. But the weather proving rainy and bad, it was deemed expedient to return to Keynsham, a measure from which he expected to reap a double advantage; to procure dry and commodious quarters for the soldiery; and to lull the enemy, by a movement which bore the semblance of a retreat, into a false and delusive security. The event, however, did not answer his expectation; for the troops had scarcely taken up their quarters when they were disturbed by two parties of horse who entered the town in two several places. An engagement ensued in which Monmouth lost fourteen men and a captain of horse, though in the end the royalists were obliged to retire, leaving three prisoners. From these the duke had information that the king's army was near at hand, and, as they said, about four thousand strong. This new state of affairs seemed to demand new councils. The projected enterprize

* See "Fox's history of the reign of James II." from which admirable work the account of Monmouth's rout is principally extracted.

upon Bristol was laid aside, and after considerable deliberation it was determined to march directly into Wiltshire : but at length the result of the transactions at King's Sedgmoor arrested his career. After having suffered all the calamities attendant upon defeat, and experienced all the wretchedness of disgrace and of hunger, the punishment of decapitation put a period to his sufferings with his life on the 15th of July 1685, in the thirtieth year of his age.

Soon after the defeat of Monmouth's party at Sedgmoor, the execrable Jefferies was sent to insult a fallen enemy and to take vengeance of its imbecility.* In the execution of this purpose he arrived in Bristol and condemned six men for treason, three of whom suffered. Of the innocence or the guilt of these characters little can now be known, but public opinion has uniformly considered them the immolated victims of political revenge.

When the impolitic as well as impotent James II. meditated the subversion of the British constitution, and laboured, with assiduous anxiety, to introduce the despotism of Turkey into the empire of Britain, among the means he employed for the execution of his purpose and in order to complete the triumph of tyranny, was the abolition of the charters of the principal corporate bodies in the kingdom. In this struggle Bristol obtained a place among those cities, which suffered a kind of martyrdom in the cause of liberty. On the 13th of January, 1687, the principal members of the corporation were removed by an order of council, and others were named, in the same deed, to supply the vacancies occasioned by these removals. By the adoption of these measures it was hoped that all the offices of magistracy throughout the empire would be filled by the obsequious creatures of a tyrant's will. But how contemptible is the policy of despotism, and how ineffectual are its

* " Jefferies was as submissive and mean to those above him as he was haughty and insolent to those who were in any degree in his power."

exertions when it has to contend with the energies of a decided people! From the apprehensions of their effects the minions of James shrunk into insignificancy; and with the cowardice natural to tyrants, these sapient ministers of a sapient monarch published a proclamation, by which the ancient charters were restored to the several corporations in the kingdom. In this proclamation something was granted, and more was promised. Of the advantages of the proclamation Bristol availed itself, and subsequent events rendered the performance of the promises unnecessary. The old corporation was restored in 1688. An era consecrated in British history by the arrival of the illustrious William III.*

The period which beheld Anne† upon the throne of England is no less interesting and important in the history of Bristol, than conspicuous in the history of literature, and splendid in the annals of military achievements. This illustrious princess granted a new charter to Bristol, which bears date the 24th of July, 1710. By this charter she confirmed all former charters and liberties which had been granted to the city by preceding sovereigns, and grants the royal pardon to the mayor and to the other officers of the corporation for having executed their respective offices without the approbation of the chancellor, which by the charter of Charles II. was ordered to be obtained. She, moreover, absolves the body corporate

* After the battle of the Boyne, William III. landed at Morgan's Pill, now Lamplighter's Hall, and proceeded immediately to Badminton. With William III. many families came from Holland and settled in Bristol, to whom the city is greatly indebted for its high character of commercial respectability; among which may be noticed those of Pelouquin, La Roche, Casamajor, and Daltera.

† Anne is the last regal visitant with whom Bristol has been honoured. The house in which the illustrious guest was entertained is not mentioned; but the following anecdote relative to her visit has been thought worth preserving. Edward Harford, Esq. grandfather of J. S. Harford, Esq. of Blaize Castle, observed, in conversation with a gentleman to whom the author is indebted for this anecdote, that he saw Queen Anne and the Prince of Denmark get into their carriage, when leaving Bristol, in Redcliff-Street.

from the necessity of obtaining such approbation of their future elections, and relinquishes in the crown every power of removing the mayor, and the other officers of the corporation, from the respective offices to which they have been elected.

Such is the outline of one of the most important of the Bristol charters ;* a charter which placed the corporation of Bristol upon its present truly respectable establishment, and entitles it to rank among the first corporations of the civilized world.

From the reign of Anne to the present period the history of Bristol is so intimately connected with that of the British Empire at large, as to present few events of any unconnected interest. But in the history of cities as well as empires, it frequently happens that the period which is most deficient in events which the historian can record, is most abundant in the means of happiness, and most important in the progress of intellect. In the lapse of the last century the arts of civilization have been advancing in their silent but rapid progress. The spirit of improvement has been diffused throughout the empire,† and of this spirit Bristol has imbibed no inconsiderable a proportion. The effects of it may be traced in every part of the city ; and while it has prompted us to the erection of public buildings for the most important purposes, and introduced elegance in the appearance of our streets, it becomes us to demonstrate that it has also introduced liberality of thinking and dignity of sentiment. Its operations, however, have not yet ceased, and we feel confident that they will not, till every thing shall be effected which it is desirable to accomplish.

* See Bristol charters ; of which a new and complete edition has been promised from a rev. gentleman of great ability and research.

† Mr. Chalmers has remarked that in the first fourteen sessions of the present reign, no fewer than seven hundred acts of parliament were passed for dividing commons, inclosing wastes and draining marshes ; four hundred and fifty acts for making roads in different districts ; and nineteen acts for making artificial canals ; besides others for the improvement and security of harbours.

The most important of the improvements, which have been effected in Bristol during the last century, have generally derived their origin from the public spirit, and well directed exertions of the body corporate. It has already been observed that this respectable body was placed upon its present foundation, and empowered to exercise the full authority with which it is now entrusted, by the charter of Queen Anne. The history of Bristol having been brought down to this period, we propose to devote the remainder of this chapter to an historical sketch of the corporation, embracing such biographic notices of some of its most eminent members as could be procured, with the exception of such names as will constitute distinct articles in the chapter it is proposed to assign to the biography of eminent persons, natives of Bristol.

The corporation of Bristol has been differently constituted in different periods of its history. In the times of feudal servitude and of military despotism, the governor of the castle appears to have exercised a jurisdiction, if not unlimited, at least, undefined. When the governor of the castle, during the civil wars, surrendered the castle and city to the generals of the parliamentary armies, no conference was held with the civil magistrates, notwithstanding the castle and precincts were then a part of the estate of the corporation by purchase from Charles I. Whence it would seem that the civil power was *then* absorbed in military authority. The progress of civilization, however, at length taught the world to seek protection from an authority, and to reverence powers which derive no efficacy from the rights of conquest, or from the force of arms; but which by recommending themselves to the judgment and to reason, derive their best support from being found to be productive of reciprocal advantages.

Bristol gives title to an earl, which is at present enjoyed by the noble family of Hervey. It was created an earldom in 1622, by James I. and conferred upon

the ancient family of Digby. Lord John Digby was the first earl of Bristol. His lordship's heir, Lord George Digby, bore a conspicuous part in the transactions of the reign of Charles II. and was equally remarkable for his talents and his inconsistencies. "His life," observes Walpole, "was one contradiction. He wrote against popery, and embraced it; he was a zealous opposer of the court and a sacrifice for it; was conscientiously converted in the midst of his prosecution of Lord Strafford, and was most unconscientiously a prosecutor of Lord Clarendon. With great talents he always hurt himself and his friends; with romantic bravery he was always an unsuccessful commander. He spoke for the test act though a roman catholic; and addicted himself to the study of astrology on the birth-day of true philosophy."

Such a conduct may excite pity or contempt, but neither surprize nor admiration. It may be resolved into the uniform operation of a passion for distinction; and to this the earl of Bristol was content to sacrifice the love of glory. In consequence of his indecision of character, he lived, neither feared by his enemies nor beloved by his friends, and died, unregretted by any of the political parties of his age, in 1676.

The civil government of the City of Bristol is vested in the corporation. The mayor is the chief magistrate; but the principal members of the corporation are a high-steward, the mayor, a recorder, aldermen, sheriffs, common-council, town-clerk, chamberlain, and some other officers, with the establishment of which no interesting circumstances are connected, and which are therefore omitted in an historical account of the corporation of Bristol.

The office of high-steward is first mentioned in the annals of Bristol in 1540, when the Duke of Somerset possessed the dignity. Of the duties connected with the office, or the emoluments resulting from its enjoyment, no mention has been made.

It appears, indeed, to be merely an honorary office, conferring a title the more flattering to its possessor, as it is freely conferred, and unstained by any sordid remuneration.

Among her high-stewards, Bristol reckons the Protector, Oliver Cromwell; and it deserves observation that a salary of five pounds was annexed to the office; in addition to which a pipe of canary and half a tun of gascoigne wine were ordered to be presented to the protector.

His grace the late Duke of Portland was elected high-steward of Bristol in 1786, and died October the 30th, 1809. The immediate ancestors of the Duke of Portland, like those of the Earls of Albemarle and Rochford, came over to this country at the revolution of 1688. William Henry Cavendish Bentick, the late high-steward of Bristol and the third Duke of Portland, was born April 13th, 1738. His youth was generally regarded as considerable in promise of future eminence; and he excited peculiar notice in 1756 at Christ Church, Oxford, by the recitation of some English verses, which were considered as displaying good abilities united to habits of reflection and investigation. He succeeded his father in the title of Duke of Portland in the twenty-fourth year of his age; but the estate which should have supported the title was found to be considerably encumbered, particularly by a large jointure of about sixteen thousand pounds per annum to the Dutchess Dowager. This circumstance is supposed to have had considerable influence upon his political conduct, and to have induced him to adopt measures which could procure for him more substantial remunerations than mere parliamentary popularity has to bestow.

On the 8th of November, 1766, his grace was married to Lady Dorothy Cavendish, daughter of William late Duke of Devonshire, by whom he had four sons and two daughters. In 1782, during the Rockingham administration, the Duke of Portland became lord lieutenant of Ireland, and, in the following year, first

lord of the treasury. This office he held only a few months, being displaced by the ascendancy of Mr. Pitt, under whom he condescended to serve as one of the secretaries of state in 1794. He resigned this office from declining health in 1801, but acted as president of the council until 1805, when he withdrew in consequence of the formation of the Fox and Grenville administration. On the death of Mr. Fox and the dissolution of that administration, the Duke of Portland became *ostensible* minister under the name of the first lord of the treasury: increasing infirmities at length compelled him to retire from public business, which he did only a few weeks before his death.

The Duke of Portland's political conduct discovers varieties which it is difficult to reconcile with a uniform perception of rectitude, or an undeviating adherence to principle. He was by turns the rival and the colleague, the friend and the foe of nearly all the administrations of the last fifty years. In all these his influence was derived from rank rather than from talent, since his oratorical powers did not rise above mediocrity, and his measures as a politician were uniformly inefficient.

In private life the Duke of Portland appears to better advantage; and candour, perhaps, will consent to disregard the inefficiency of the prime minister, and the failures of the politician, in the contemplation of the excellencies of the son, the father, the friend, and the citizen. Lord Grenville, chancellor of the university of Oxford, &c. &c. was elected high-steward of Bristol in 1810.

It has been already observed that the authority of the governor of the castle was originally undefined, if not unlimited. The earliest government of Bristol, indeed, appears to have been mixed, military and civil; the supreme authority being vested in the lord constable of the castle, who deputed another officer for the execution of justice, stiled in latin "*prepositus villæ*," or provost of the town. The earliest account of this officer occurs in doomsday-book, in which the *prepositus*

de Bristou is named Sheruinus, and described as holding a manor in Gloucestershire in the time of Edward the Confessor.

The period in which the chief magistrate was denominated mayor cannot be ascertained; but the charter which permitted that Bristol should be governed by a magistrate denominated "prepositus villæ," and vested with judicial authority like London, was obtained in the reign of John. This charter was confirmed and several additional privileges granted the body corporate by the charter of Henry III.

Dr. Hooke in his dissertation on the antiquities of Bristol, of which a farther account will be given in the appendix, says, "Bristol appears to have been all along from the earliest accounts a corporation by prescription, under the like government as London, and to have had magistrates, both chief and subordinate, with the same stile and titles, except that of lord mayor, and invested with the same powers and authorities; and that the utmost that London can boast on this head is that it had the honour of being a *mayor town* just eight years before Bristol."*

The prepositor or mayor continued to be sworn before the governor of the castle, or the lord constable his deputy, till the reign of Edward III. when, by a charter granted in 1373, after the election of the mayor, it was granted that he might have the oaths administered to him in the Guildhall, in the presence of his predecessor in office, the body corporate, and the burgesses. The different forms of civil government which have obtained in different periods, and the titles of the officers, will best appear from the following list.

1. Till A. D. 1205. A prepositor under the custos of the castle.
2. ————— 1266. A mayor and two prepositors.

* Dissertation, page 59. See also Vol. I. pages 11 & 13.

3. Till A. D. 1313. A mayor and two seneschals or stewards.
4. ————— 1372. A mayor and two bailiffs.
5. ————— 1372. A mayor, sheriff, and two bailiffs.
6. To the present period, A mayor and two sheriffs chosen annually.

From the year 1216, the names of the gentlemen who have filled these offices, have been preserved, and will be given in the appendix, for the convenience of reference, as well as for the gratification of curiosity. In the list will be found some illustrious names, which will be considered more at large in the chapter it is proposed to assign to the biography of eminent persons, natives of Bristol. The following names complete the list from 1789 to the present period.

MAYORS.

1789 James Hill

1790 John Harris

1791 John Noble

1792 Henry Bengough

1793 James Morgan

1794 Joseph Smith

1795 James Harvey

1796 James Harvey

SHERIFFS.

Henry Bengough

John Gordon, Jun.

James Morgan

Rowland Williams

Joseph Harford

Samuel Span

William Gibbons

Joseph Gregory Harris

Charles Young

John Page

Robert Castle

Joseph Edye

David Evans

John Wilcox

John Foy Edgar

Azariah Pinney

MAYORS.

1797 Thomas Daniel, Jun.

1798 Robert Claxton

1799 John Morgan

1800 William Gibbons -

1801 Joseph Edye

1802 Robert Castle*

1803 David Evans

1804 Edward Protheroe

1805 Daniel Wait

1806 Richard Vaughan

1807 Henry Bright

SHERIFFS.

Edward Protheroe

John Span

Daniel Wait, Jun.

William Frigg

Henry Bright

Worthington Brice

Robert Castle

Samuel Birch

Samuel Span

Richard Vaughan, Jun.

John Foy Edgar

Henry Protheroe

Samuel Henderson

John Haythorne

Levi Ames, Jun.

Philip Protheroe

William Inman

John Hilhouse Wilcox

Henry Brooke

Edward Brice

Henry Protheroe

John Haythorne

* This gentleman died before the year of his mayoralty was completed; and his integrity as a magistrate, joined to a peculiar amenity of manners, had procured him so generally the esteem and respect of his fellow-citizens, that his loss was both extensively felt and unfeignedly lamented. He will ever live in the recollection of the author from those grateful associations formed in the days of boyhood, which have induced him to embrace with peculiar pleasure the opportunity of offering this trifling tribute to his memory.

MAYORS.

1808 John Haythorne
 1809 John Hilhouse Wilcox
 1810 Philip Protheroe

SHERIFFS.

Benjamin Bickley
 Philip George
 Michael Castle
 George King
 William Inman
 James Fowler.

The name of recorder first occurs in the reign of the British Alexander Edward III. about the year 1344. By an act passed during the reign of Elizabeth in 1581, it is enacted that the recorder must have been a barrister of at least five years standing at the time of his election. He is consequently supposed to possess consummate knowledge of jurisprudence, and ranks among the corporation as senior alderman. First on the list of recorders is the name of William de Colford, entitled to historic notice from having written an account of the customs of the city, and for having preserved the forms of the oaths administered to the members and officers of the corporation.

Sir Michael Foster was recorder of Bristol in 1755. This truly eminent lawyer was born at Marlborough in Wiltshire, in 1689, and after passing through the preliminary parts of education with distinction, studied at Exeter College, Oxford. He prosecuted his professional studies in the Middle Temple, but not finding the success he expected at the bar, settled first at Marlborough, and then, having married, removed to Bristol, and practised in his profession with distinguished reputation. In 1736 he obtained the degree of serjeant of law ; and in 1745, upon the recommendation of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, was appointed one of the judges of the court of king's bench, with the honour of knighthood. In 1762 he published " A report of some proceedings on the commission for the

trial of the rebels in 1746, in the county of Surry ; and of other crown cases, to which are added discourses upon a few branches of the crown law." This work will procure for its author an immortality of reputation as a lawyer, and obtained for him from Blackstone the encomium of "a very great master of the crown law." It has been twice reprinted with valuable additions, by Mr. Michael Dodson, the learned translator of Isaiah. Judge Foster sat on the bench eighteen years, with the highest reputation for legal knowledge and integrity, and died in 1763. Sir Michael Foster continued recorder till his death, and was succeeded by the Hon. Daines Barrington, whose writings as a lawyer, naturalist, and antiquarian exhibit great talents, united to indefatigable application and profound research. His "Observations on the Statutes" have passed through five editions, and are a fund of interesting materials to the historian and antiquarian. His other writings may be found in the transactions of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies, of both which he was an assiduous member, and of the latter vice-president. He resigned the recordership of Bristol in 1766, and the office of second justice of Chester in 1785; and from that time to his death, in 1800, lived in retirement in the Inner Temple. The predecessor of the present recorder, Sir Vicary Gibbs, his majesty's attorney-general, was Richard Burke, Esq. brother to Burke member for Bristol, deservedly characterized as the English Demosthenes.*

* It is hoped that the introduction of the following lines from one of the sweetest sons of modern song, will be excused from a consideration of the subject to which they refer.

Here lies honest Richard, whose fate I must sigh at ;
 Alas that such frolic should now be so quiet !
 What spirits were his ! what wit and what whim !
 Now breaking a jest, and now breaking a limb.
 Now wrangling and grumbling to keep up the ball ;
 Now teasing and vexing, yet laughing at all !
 In short so provoking a devil was Dick,
 That we wish'd him full ten times a day at old nick.

The office of town-clerk is of considerable antiquity. The town-clerk presides as judge in the court of quarter-sessions; and by the statute ~~must~~ have been, prior to his election, a barrister for at least three years. In order that he might be always in readiness to assist the mayor and aldermen with his advice, and record the orders of council, he is enjoined to reside in the city. Robert Ricaut memorable as author of the mayor's calendar now extant in manuscript, filled this office about the year 1479.

To omit the name of Robert Thorn would be injustice to his memory. As a merchant he appears to have been enterprising and successful; as a citizen ardent and indefatigable in his exertions to promote the interests of his fellow-citizens, and as a man active and benevolent in lessening the sum of human infelicity; he died in 1540, after he had filled the office of town-clerk twenty-six years. Samuel Worrall, Esq. the father of the present town-clerk, was elected in 1787, and filled this office with considerable ability.

In consequence of the vast increase of the property vested in the corporation, the business of the chamberlain is of very great importance as well as of considerable extent. The chamberlain after his election signs a declaration acknowledging that his powers are delegated, and that he has no pretensions to a freehold in the concerns which he transacts. He signs a bond of £3,000. for the execution of his office with care and fidelity, and is obliged by the statute to render an account of the revenues of the corporation, together with their application, in one month after the feast of St. Luke.

But missing his mirth and agreeable vein,
As often we wish'd to have Dick back again.

Such a character of R. Burke, Esq. from such a pen, affords a striking example that the graver studies of the law are not incompatible with the more lively sallies of humour, or the captivating coruscations of wit.

Among the chamberlains we find the name of John Willis, of whom tradition says, that he was the best chamberlain ever known, and that he expended his fortune in the execution of schemes of public utility. To dissipate the fortune which should provide for the demands of a family, or an individual, though the profusion shelter itself under the name of benevolence, can never escape censure; but such conduct in the man whose office requires circumspection and demands economy, partakes in some degree of criminality. Willis died in 1782. The present chamberlain, Richard Hawkeswell, Esq. has filled the office since the year 1773 with distinguished reputation.

The authority now exercised by the sheriffs was originally vested in officers who sustained the name of bailiffs. The charter of Charles II. appoints the election of sheriffs, and we find that Nathaniel Driver and Edmund Arundel, Esqrs. were appointed the first sheriffs by this charter.

Prior to the reign of Elizabeth the number of the aldermen was limited to six, who presided over as many divisions of the city, to which the name of wards was given. In the twenty-third year of her reign the city was divided into twelve wards, and empowered to choose twelve aldermen. They are constituted preservers of the public tranquillity with all the powers of justices of the peace, and enjoy all the privileges and authority of aldermen of London. Any three of the aldermen, together with the mayor for the time being, and recorder, may hold a court of oyer and terminer, or general gaol delivery; upon which occasion they have authority to inflict the severest punishment the law appoints to preserve the property and protect the persons of the subjects of the British empire.

The election of the mayor and sheriffs by the charter of Charles II. takes place annually on the 15th of September. If the gentlemen elected to either of these offices refuse to serve the office for which they are chosen they are liable to a fine, the mayor elect of £500. and the sheriffs elect in £200. each, which,

however, is now seldom levied, as courtesy generally avoids the choice which is known to be decidedly disagreeable.

By the charter of Charles II. the common-council might consist of forty-three members, but in the charter granted by Queen Anne the number is restricted to forty-two. From the members of the common-council are elected the sheriffs; and it frequently happens that gentlemen are chosen members of the common-council as a preliminary to their election for the office of sheriffs. If there be no vacancy in this branch of the body corporate, it follows that the same gentlemen are called upon to fill the office a second time.

In point of opulence the corporation of Bristol is supposed to rank among the most wealthy bodies corporate of the kingdom. So far back as the year 1778 the annual income of the corporation is stated by Mr. Barrett* to have amounted to £14,000. arising from the several estates they possess, and from those for which they act in trust, with the rents of the several markets, the profits arising from the town duties, and other sources of revenue. Since that period every species of property has advanced in an unprecedented proportion, and landed property in particular has generally doubled the value at which it was estimated in 1778. If, therefore, we assume £14,000. per annum, as the income of the corporation of Bristol in 1778, to suppose that this income from that period to the present has increased one-third, may be admitted as a computation rather falling short of the truth than liable to a charge of exaggeration. This computation gives upwards of eighteen thousand pounds as the annual revenue of this opulent body.† This

* See Barrett's History, page 140.

† The author is aware that this is a subject of delicacy as well as difficulty, but at the same time of considerable interest. He has, therefore, proceeded with every possible precaution against inaccuracies; but if unhappily he has fallen into any mistake, he pledges himself to publish in the appendix any well authenticated communication upon the subject which may be addressed to the publisher in sufficient time for publication.

statement of the revenue of the corporation may appear, at first view, too highly estimated; but the following account of the income of the corporation of Liverpool, as delivered by their order to the House of Commons, will afford some degree of corroboration to the statement.

Income of the corporation of Liverpool for 1792:—

Fines received for renewal of leases . . .	£2,270	14	4
Ground-rents received for 1792	1,027	1	10
Rents for buildings in possession, let to tenants at will	5,166	17	6
Rents for land in possession, let to ditto . .	1,349	1	0
Amount of town-duties	12,180	7	0
Graving docks	1,701	16	5
Anchorage	211	15	3
Small tolls called ingates and outgates	321	9	7
Weighing machine	143	4	0
Rents of seats in St. George's church	268	11	0
Arrears of interest from the parish of Liverpool	360	0	0
<hr/>			
	£25,000	17	11

Interest and Annuities paid in 1792:—

Annual interest upon the bond debts, prin- cipally at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. per Annum.	15,835	14	3
Annuities upon bond	2,109	12	10
<hr/>			
	17,945	7	1

Balance in favor of the corporation £7,055 10 10*

From this account it appears that if we assign £18,000. as the general annual revenue of the corporation of Bristol, the general revenue of the corporation of Liverpool *exceeds* it by seven thousand pounds per annum. It is necessary to observe that this computation rests solely on the authority here stated, and that no other information could be obtained upon the subject ; from which it consequently follows that this computation can be depended upon no farther than the principles upon which it proceeds may be approved.

The principal source of the revenue of the corporation is their estates in land or houses. A considerable portion of their landed property is derived from the charter of John, and claimed by them under the title of lords of the waste. This waste includes what is now Queen-square, Princes'-street, King-street, part of St. Augustin's-back, the Key, Grove, and the Back, the ground-rents of which constitute part of the revenue of the corporation. The other sources of revenue have already been stated to be the profits derived from the town duties or dues, the rents of the several markets, and in general it may be presumed, that the income may be ranged, with few exceptions, under the same heads or sources as those assumed in the statement of the income of the corporation of Liverpool.

In consequence of the increased value of landed property, and the expectation that its value will continue to increase, we have been informed that the corporation have determined not to renew such leases as may hereafter expire. The following communication is from a gentleman of extensive knowledge, to whom the author is indebted for several similar favours, and whose name would be the best ornament of his work if he were at liberty to introduce it. "The increase," says he, "of the annual revenue of the corporation has hitherto been small, but will in a little time be very considerable. Their lands, till late years, were granted on lives, the emolument from which was chiefly in fines paid on renewals, the rents

being seldom advanced. Having now determined not to renew, the lands must, in the course of a little time come into their own possession, when the rents will be increased in proportion to the rise of general property."

In the statement given of the income of the body corporate, the estates for which they act in trust are included ; the rents of which are to be appropriated to charitable purposes. These are stated by Mr. Barrett to have amounted in 1778 to three thousand pounds. If we suppose as before that this income has increased to the present period one third, this portion of the income is now four thousand pounds per annum, which is applied to the purposes of benevolence, with the most sacred regard to the intention of the respective donors. Of the remainder, two thousand five hundred pounds per annum are assigned to the mayor and sheriffs (to the mayor one thousand five hundred, and to each of the sheriffs five hundred pounds) in order to lessen that demand upon personal property which is necessarily incurred in supporting the respect due to magistracy. In addition to these demands on the income of the corporation, it is probable that between three and four thousand pounds per annum are necessary for the salaries of officers,* and other expences incurred in the support of the civil government of the city.

The resolution to which we have referred, will in a few years increase the revenue of the corporation to a sum of which the corporate body of 1778 could form a very imperfect conception. From the recent improvements effected in several of the old parts of the city, we have the most satisfactory proofs that there exists in the corpo-

* It is a subject of regret that while city carpenters and city masons are attached to the corporation, that respectable body has never appointed a city draughtsman, whose office it might be to preserve sketches of old buildings, narrow ways, and streets, previous to their removal. Few of the present citizens are sufficiently aware of the advantages they enjoy from an ignorance of the privations under which their ancestors laboured. Would not such an establishment be a valuable addition to the officers of the library? In which such sketches might be conveniently referred to and easily preserved.

ration a disposition to employ the superfluous part of their revenue in the execution of schemes which have for their object the beauty and improvement of the city. When the economical plans in the management of their landed property, we have before noticed, shall have furnished this disposition with the most ample means of gratification, in devising and executing plans of public utility, we anticipate the most important effects to the community; since we feel confident, that the opulent and truly respectable corporation of this ancient city will be inferior to none in the kingdom in active patriotism and public spirit.

Bristol appears to have sent representatives to the great national council at a very early period. It is frequently denominated a borough by ancient prescription, and appears to have been so called as early as the reign of William the Conqueror, when London had obtained no other denomination. With the title it seems to have enjoyed all the advantages and exercised all the privileges of a borough, at as early a period as any in the empire.

“It appears,” says Dr. Hooke, “that Bristol was separated from all foreign jurisdiction and erected into a *county* of itself, some years before the city of York, so much celebrated for its antiquity; that it has all along enjoyed as ample franchises and privileges as any borough town or city in England, and that it is at present vested with more extensive authorities and jurisdictions than either London or York, or any other city in the kingdom.”*

In a charter of Henry II. the citizens are styled burgesses, nor is there any reason for supposing that the title was first applied to them in this charter. Robert Ricaut, in a manuscript calendar preserved among the records of the city, and compiled in the reign of Edward IV. describes the franchise of Bristol as held of

the crown in "frank burgage," and adds, that it has enjoyed "its franchises, liberties and auntiaumite free customs, time out of mind, as the city of London; and consequently had its said liberties confirmed by magna charta as London and other enfranchised places had."

The customs and usages, or rights and privileges of Bristol, having been uniformly considered and always declared, in the several charters granted by the different monarchs, to be the same as those of London, it became a subject of importance to ascertain their extent. In order to furnish the body corporate with this information Ricaut took a copy of the customs of London, as contained in a manuscript belonging to Henry Dravey, who was recorder of London in the reign of Edward III. This valuable manuscript is preserved with "the Kalendar," and is at present in the possession of the corporation.

Bristol being originally part of the county of Gloucester, its representation was included in that of the county. The writ for the election of the representatives of Bristol was issued by the sheriffs of Gloucester, addressed to the mayor and commonalty. After the election it was returned to the county sheriffs, endorsed with the names of the representatives chosen to serve in parliament for the borough of Bristol. Walter Derby and John Stoke were the last representatives for Bristol, who were returned by the sheriffs of Gloucester in the reign of Edward III. in 1372. From this period the writs for the election of representatives have been directed to the sheriffs of Bristol, and returned by them immediately after the election.

In the early periods of the history of parliament, attendance in the legislative assembly was considered a labour rather than an honour, and in consequence a pecuniary remuneration was appointed for such attendance. This remuneration was fixed by parliament to four shillings a day for every knight, and two shillings

a day for burgesses or citizens ; which was continued, not only during the sitting of parliament, but for a greater or less number of days, in proportion to the distance between the place in which the parliament was holden and the members' residence.*

The sum fixed by parliament for the remuneration of representatives was so considerable in these ancient periods, that some places petitioned to be excused from sending members, as they were incapable of bearing so extraordinary a charge. This expence was sometimes diminished by an express agreement between the respective parties; of which a curious instance is quoted by Christian in his notes on Blackstone,* as entered into between John Strange, member for Dunwich, and his electors, in 1463; in which the member covenants that " whether the parliament hold long time or short, or whether it fortune to be prorogued, he will take for his wages only a cade and half a barrel of herrings, to be delivered by Christmas:" and in the annals of Bristol occurs a similar instance of proceeding by summary. In 1520, in the reign of Henry VIII. it was ordered by an act of common council, that twenty shillings† should be paid to the burgesses for their attendance in parliament during the session."

* Blackstone's Commentaries with Christian's Notes, Vol. I. fifteenth edition.

† From the conquest to the twentieth year of Edward III. a pound sterling was actually a pound weight of silver divided into twenty shillings. In 1347, Edward III. coined twenty-two shillings; and five years afterwards he coined twenty-five shillings out of the same quantity. Henry V. in the beginning of his reign divided the pound into thirty shillings. Henry VIII. increased the number to forty; and Elizabeth, in the beginning of her reign, coined a pound sterling into sixty-two shillings, the present standard. The rule for finding the equivalent of ancient in modern money is, As the number of shillings in a pound at that time is to sixty-two, so is any sum at that time to its equivalent at present: for instance, As thirty shillings of Henry V. is to sixty-two shillings modern money, so is ten pounds to twenty pounds four shillings of modern money, independently of its intrinsic depreciation in consequence of its increased quantity, or the currency which modern ingenuity has substituted for gold and silver.

The qualifications of representatives being fixed by parliament, are in consequence the same in every part of the kingdom. The qualifications of the electors being usually determined by the ancient usage of the respective boroughs, are not only different in different places, but have been different at the same place in different periods.

The period has not yet arrived, when the wisdom of parliament should give the sanction of law to the incontrovertible maxim, that taxation and representation should invariably and inseparably be united, and that every individual who contributes either from a patrimonial fortune or the produce of his industry to support the exigencies of the state, should have a voice in parliament by means of his representative.

In Bristol it is probable that the right of choosing representatives was anciently exercised by the corporation and freeholders of forty shillings per annum. This restriction of the rights of election to the corporation and the freeholders was attempted to be rendered perpetual by an act of the common-council, passed in the reign of Charles I. in 1625, during the mayoralty of John Barker, Esq.* This law enacts "That whensoever any writ for election of knights, citizens, or burgesses for the parliament shall come to the sheriffs of this city, the election shall be made by the mayor, aldermen, and common-council for the time being, and by the freeholders resident within the said city, and by *none else*." In the reign of Charles II. a similar restriction of the rights of election was inserted in the petition of the corporation to that monarch for the renewal of their charter, namely, "that the parliament men might be chosen by the mayor and corporation and freeholders of forty shillings per annum *only*." When the petition was submitted to counsel this clause was pronounced unconstitutional, and in consequence erased from the petition.

* In this year also an act of common council adjudged Brandon-Hill to be the property of the mayor and sheriffs, but that the citizens might claim a right of drying clothes there.

The right of voting for representatives is at present vested in the freeholders and burgesses or freemen. The freedom may be obtained by hereditary right, by serving an apprenticeship of seven years if the indenture be registered at the council-house, by marrying a freeman's daughter, and by purchase. No freeman is disqualified from voting except he receive parochial assistance, or relief from an alms-house, or be employed in the customs or excise.

The number of votes is supposed to amount at present to between seven and eight thousand ; but the numbers which have actually voted in the several contests by which Bristol has been distinguished, have never exceeded six thousand. In the contest between Edward Southwell, Esq. principal secretary of state for Ireland, and Mr. Combe,* merchant of Bristol, in 1739, the numbers were, for Mr. Southwell, 2651; for Mr. Combe, 2203; which with 200 neutral votes, give 5054 for the number of votes at that period. In the celebrated contest, between Henry Cruger, Esq. and George Daubeney, Esq. in 1781, the numbers of those who polled were between five and six thousand.†

The names of the representatives of Bristol have been preserved from the twenty-third year of the reign of Edward II. in 1295; and as they have already been published by Mr. Barrett, they will be given in the appendix to render this work

* Of Mr. Combe the following anecdote has been related by such respectable authority, that the author has deemed it worth preserving. Hume, the historian, was once employed by him in the humble situation of a clerk, and in copying Mr. Combe's letters the historian was observed frequently to deviate from his original to render the orthography and grammar in some degree correct. This was deemed such a reflection upon the man whose talents had enabled him "to amass wealth enough to buy half a nation," that Mr. Hume was dismissed from his situation with a prophecy that notwithstanding his industry and good morals his *refined* education would certainly prove his ruin.

† The exact numbers in this celebrated election were, for George Daubeney, Esq. 3143; for Henry Cruger, 2771; giving a total of 5914, at the close of the poll, Wednesday, January 31, 1781.

as complete as possible as a book of reference. The following names complete the list to the present time.

June 19, 1790, The Marquis of Worcester
John Lord Sheffield.

May 28, 1796, John Lord Sheffield
Charles Bragge, Esq.

Nov. 23, 1801, Charles Bragge, Esq. re-elected without opposition, on his
appointment to the Office of Treasurer of the Navy.

July 6, 1802, The Right Honourable Charles Bragge, Esq.
Evan Baillie, Esq.

Aug. 16, 1803, The Right Honourable Charles Bragge, Esq. re-elected without
opposition on being appointed Secretary at War.

Oct. 29, 1806, The Right Honourable Charles Bathurst (late Bragge)
Evan Baillie, Esq.

May 5, 1807, The Right Honourable Charles Bathurst
Evan Baillie, Esq.

In the list of representatives will be found several names, such as Blanket, Canyngs, Young, Thorn, Snygg, Colston, and Coster, to whose talents and exertions the city is considerably indebted for its relative importance and commercial prosperity. Of these biographic notices will be given in another part of this work ; it must suffice here to give a brief sketch of one of the greatest men of modern times.

Among the representatives, by far the most eminent name is that of Burke, member for Bristol in 1774. This illustrious character was a native of Dublin, and born in 1730. His early education was conducted by Abraham Shackleton, an eminent quaker, for whom Mr. Burke entertained through life so great an affection, that he uniformly paid him an annual visit of gratitude and respect during a period of forty

years. He studied at Trinity-College, Dublin, and afterwards offered himself a candidate for the professorship of logic at Glasgow; but having been too late in his application, he came to London in 1749, and entered himself a member of the Temple with a view of being called to the bar.

At this period the narrowness of his finances reduced him to the necessity of writing for the periodical prints; but his talents procured him an introduction to the celebrated Mrs. Woffington, in whose society he passed many of his leisure hours with pleasure and advantage. In 1761, he accompanied W. G. Hamilton, usually designated by the epithet of *single speech*, to Ireland, and at his return obtained a pension of £300. per annum. About this time Mrs. Woffington recommended him to the duke of Newcastle, and his writings introduced him to the notice of the Marquis of Rockingham. This laid the foundation of his future fame and fortune; he first became private secretary to the marquis, and then member for Wendover.

With Dr. Johnson and all the most eminent literary characters of his age, Mr. Burke lived in intimacy, and from all obtained the respect to which his talents entitled him. When Dr. Johnson took leave of him at Beaconsfield, to which place he had accompanied him from London, he wished him all the success on his canvass at Bristol which "could possibly be wished him by an honest man."

In this celebrated election Cruger was so completely overwhelmed by the eloquence of Burke, that the only speech he made on the hustings was "I say ditto to Mr. Burke! I say ditto to Mr. Burke!"

In 1790 he published his celebrated "*Reflections*," which were first answered by Dr. Priestley in vindication of his friend Dr. Price, and afterwards by Thomas Paine in his "*Rights of Man*."

Mr. Burke retired from parliament after the close of Mr. Hastings' trial, and in 1794 sustained an irretrievable loss in the death of his son. He survived this event only three years, and died without bodily struggle or discomposure of mind on the 8th of July, 1797.

As a speaker, Mr. Burke was characterised by a superfluity of ideas and images, often too abundant to be applied with propriety, or selected and arranged with judgment. Early in life he was remarkably careful of his language, and revised his speeches with attention. Latterly he became blameably diffuse and extravagant, though his ingenuity never failed.

His "Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful" has placed him in the highest class of writers on subjects of taste and criticism ; nor can his whole character be summed up with so much strength, conciseness, and truth, as in the memorable words of Johnson. "Burke is one, with whom if you were to take shelter from a shower under a gateway, you would say you had been in company with the most extraordinary man you had ever seen."

Previously to the demolition of Bristol castle in 1665, the inhabitants appear to have been distinguished rather by an opposition to the measures of the court and reigning princes, than by unreserved submission to the monarchs, or approbation of the measures of government. In 1648, William Cann, the mayor of Bristol, proclaimed that "there was no king in England, and that the successors of Charles I were traitors to the state." It is remarkable that this mayor was the first in England who issued this unconstitutional proclamation,* which the lord mayor of London had positively refused. Upon the restoration Bristol seems to have

* The English constitution contemplates the king in his political capacity as immortal as well as immaculate. See Blackstone, and the valuable work of De Lolme on the English constitution.

obtained distinction by its demonstrations of joy for the event ; and in the subsequent reigns its attachment to the monarch could scarcely be shaken even by the attempts of James II. to bury the British constitution in the gloomy abyss of despotism.

From the accession of the house of Hanover its attachment to the monarchs has been invariable and unshaken. In the rebellion in the reign of George I. Bristol was distinguished by its exertions in the cause of loyalty ; but in the alarming rebellion of 1745, its exertions and its patriotism were displayed with all the ardour of enthusiasm. The citizens subscribed the sum of thirty-six thousand four hundred and fifty pounds for the immediate use of government, and raised a small body of troops, which were sent to London and incorporated with the king's guards.

From that time to the present, during a period which has scarcely a parallel in the annals of history, the same principles of patriotism have been the characteristic of the citizens. If they have relaxed their ardour, their attachment to his majesty's government remains undiminished, while their veneration for the constitution has been increased in common with that of every Englishman's, by the striking events of the present age ; events as incalculable in their effects as unprecedented in their causes ; but which in their operation have subverted all the political relations of Europe, and fixed a new era in the history of the world.

The council-house in which the mayor, aldermen, and common-council meet to transact the business of the corporation, is a plain stone building erected in 1704. The old council-house was erected in 1552, by removing the chapel of the fraternity of Saint John, being a part of the ancient church of Saint Ewin. In the front of the old council-house was a portico, supported by five pillars ; in which it appears the corporation usually assembled, except upon particular occasions, when they retired to the council-chamber within the portico. The portico before the council-

house was probably designed to correspond with the Tolzey upon the opposite side. From the account of William of Worcester,* the Tolzey itself appears to have been used as a place of meeting for the corporation; and it would also seem that the principal merchants were accustomed to assist the body corporate in their deliberations.†

Upon the old bridge was a chapel, under which was an arched room of the same extent as the building, which was used as a council-chamber. This chamber was constructed in 1360, and was probably the usual place of assembly for the corporation previously to the erection of the former council-house.

The guildhall is a very ancient structure, since it was probably erected so early as the reign of Edward I. Its style is that of the middle or rather perhaps of the ancient gothic. Worcester thus describes it in the year 1480. "The breadth of the guildhall in Broad-street, with the chapel of Saint George, founded by Richard Spicer, a celebrated merchant and citizen of Bristol, who flourished about the

* William of Worcester is sometimes quoted under the name of Botoner, both of which names he has used himself, but that of Worcester most frequently. His book is published under the title of "*Itineraria Symonis Simeonis et Willelmi de Worcestre. Quibus accedit Tractatus de Metro in quo traduntur regulæ a scriptoribus medii ævi in versibus Leoninis observatæ.*" Edited by James Nasmyth. A. M. F. A. S. The itinerary of Worcester is a mere note book, probably designed as materials for a better work, in which he has recorded whatever appeared to him worthy of observation in the places he visited, without preserving any method or arrangement Bristol was his native city, and he has given the most interesting information respecting it, mixed with much of little or no value. He has given the dimensions of every public building, and usually of all the streets in the city, occasionally interspersed with a few biographical or historical notices. He measures by steps, one of which is in general nearly equal to a half-yard, as appears from page 263, where he makes thirty-two steps equal to eighteen yards.

† Itin. de Wor. p. 170.

time of Edward III. or Richard II. To the chapel of Saint George is attached an honorable fraternity of the merchants and mariners of Bristol.”*

In the front of the guildhall are the arms of Edward I. and in a recess above them is a statue of Charles II. This statue was formerly placed before the old council-house, and removed to its present situation in the commencement of the last century.

The city prison is denominated newgate, and near it was a gate of the same name, which anciently constituted one of the principal entrances to the city. Here, as in other prisons, the cheerless children of insolvency, whose only crime perhaps is poverty, are immured together with the victims of confirmed depravity. It is granted that between these there is no necessary communication, yet surely to dwell under the same roof with the murderer or midnight robber must aggravate the evils of misfortune, and increase the woes of poverty.

Considering that this prison is situated in the centre of a populous city, it is more healthy than speculation would conjecture. It was built by a tax upon the inhabitants in 1691. On an ornamented tablet in the front is the following inscription.

EDIFICATUM
SUMPTIBUS CIVIUM ET INCOLARUM
HUIUS CIVITATIS
ANNO DOMINI MDCXCI.

* Capella ampla in honore Sancti Georgii fundata per Ricardum Spicer, famosum mercatorem et burgensem dictæ villæ, circa tempus regis Edwardi III. seu Ricardi II. et est fraternitas dignissima mercatorum et marinariorum Bristollia dictæ capellæ pertinencia. Itin. de Wor. p. 253.

JOHANNE KNIGHT, EQUITE, PRETORE,
 ROBERTO DOWDEN, } VICE COMITIBUS.
 JOHANNE YEAMANS, }

Of which the following is a translation :

THIS STRUCTURE WAS ERECTED
 AT THE EXPENCE
 OF THE BURGESSES AND INHABITANTS
 OF THIS CITY,
 A. D. 1691,
 SIR JOHN KNIGHT, MAYOR,
 ROBERT DOWDEN, } SHERIFFS:
 JOHN YEAMANS, }

Within the walls of this prison died Richard Savage, a man equally distinguished by his virtues and vices, and at once remarkable for his weaknesses and abilities, yet with whose name is associated a claim to compassion not always bestowed upon the wretched, but which a feeling of peculiar infelicity in the case of the sufferer prompts us to bestow with readiness upon the unfortunate Savage.

Savage, the illegitimate son of an unnatural mother, was born of the Countess of Macclesfield, and was universally allowed to have a just claim upon the Earl of Rivers for the title of father. He was born on the 10th of January, 1697-8. Early abandoned by his mother he grew up in the hovel of poverty; and here having been made familiar with all the evils of indigence, and having laid the foundation of the habits which determined his future character, he was at last apprenticed to a shoemaker, as the supposed son of his nurse whose name he always bore.

For the education he received he was indebted to the benevolence of the lady

Mason, his maternal grandmother ; by whose care he had been placed for a short time at a small grammar-school near St. Albans. In this school he imbibed the principles of literature by industry and application ; and the powers of genius taught him to expand the principles he received when the means of acquisition were withdrawn.

To follow Savage through all the events of his life is to follow the traces of calamity, and to attend to the progress of misfortune. Misery marked this son of wretchedness for her own, and, with the exception of one transient gleam of better fortune, biography may narrate his *life* in the following language.

“ He lodged as much by *accident* as he dined, and passed the night sometimes in mean houses, which are set open by night to any casual wanderers ; sometimes in cellars among the riot and filth of the meanest and most profligate of the rabble ; sometimes when he had not money to support even the expences of these receptacles, walked about the streets till he was weary, and lay down in the summer upon a bulk, or in the winter with his associates in poverty among the ashes of a glass-house. In this manner were passed those nights and those days which nature had enabled him to employ in elevated speculations, useful studies, or pleasing conversation. On a bulk, in a cellar, or in a glass-house among thieves and beggars, was to be found the author of “ The Wanderer,” the man of exalted sentiments, extensive views, and curious observations ; the man whose remarks on life might have assisted the statesman, whose ideas of virtue might have enlightened the moralist, whose eloquence might have influenced senates, and whose delicacy might have polished courts.”

In the summer of 1739 Savage arrived in Bristol on his way to Swansea, to which place it had been proposed that he should retreat, and live upon an annuity which the generosity of his friends had raised. Enabled by means of his annuity to support a respectability of appearance, his talents rendered him a favorite with

many of the principal inhabitants : he was invited to their houses, distinguished at their public feasts, and treated with a regard that gratified his vanity and therefore easily engaged his affection.

Disappointed in the expectation of finding felicity among sylvan shades and rural retreats, Savage determined to leave Wales and return to London. In the execution of this determination he once more came to Bristol, where a repetition of the kindness he had formerly found invited him to stay. He was not only caressed and treated but had a collection made for him of about thirty pounds, with which it had been happy if he had immediately departed for London ; but his negligence did not suffer him to consider “ that such proofs of kindness were not to be often expected, and that this ardour of benevolence was in a great degree the effect of novelty, and might, probably, be every day less ; and therefore he took no care to improve the happy time, but was encouraged by one favour to hope for another, till at length generosity was exhausted and officiousness wearied.”

But while he was thus inattentive to the suggestions of prudence, distress stole upon him by imperceptible degrees. The decay of his clothes banished him from the tables of the fashionable ; and his inattention to regularity in his hours prevented him from becoming the companion of those whose habits of commercial application gave them no relish for midnight conversations. To aggravate his misery he had now contracted debts, for which the bailiffs hunted him from every retreat. At length the scale of wretchedness was completed, and Savage was consigned to a prison !

It has been justly observed that he who does not respect himself can have little hope of obtaining the respect of others ; and that the man who dissipates the means of acquiring independence has no right to complain if he experience the evils of indigence. In his prison Savage attempted to alleviate the sufferings of confinement

by writing a satire, entitled “London and Bristol delineated.” “To gratify the petulance of his wit and the eagerness of his resentment,” says Dr. Johnson, “he could forget on a sudden his danger and his *obligations*.” All the kindnesses and all the caresses he had ever received, even the liberal collection which had averted from him the pressure of present calamity, were buried in oblivion. The melancholy fact indeed is, that in this, as in every other circumstance of his life, Savage was the slave of his passions; and this slavery reciprocally produced a life irregular and dissipated. He was not master of his own motions, nor could promise any thing for the next day. The complete execution of his plan was interrupted by his death, which happened on the 31st of July, 1743. He was buried in the church-yard of St. Peter, at the expence of the keeper, Mr. Dagg; whose treatment of this unfortunate prisoner had always been marked by humanity and benevolence. The remains of Savage were mingled with the felon and the pauper; nor does any inscription point out the spot consecrated by the ashes of genius.

“From the life of Savage we learn, that superior capacities or attainments will not justify a disregard of the common maxims of life; that nothing will supply the want of prudence; and that negligence and irregularity long continued, will make knowledge useless, wit ridiculous, and genius contemptible.”

At no great distance from the ancient gate was a grammar-school, which is mentioned by Worcester, who has also preserved the names of two of its masters. Of this establishment no particulars have been recorded, nor is it even mentioned by any writer upon topography which the author has consulted. The passage in Worcester may be thus translated: “At New-gate, where formerly was a grammar-school, conducted by Mr. Robert Lane, the principal grammarian, together with —— Leland, a master of grammar in Oxford, who is reported to have been the most eminent grammarian and poet of his time, or of many preceding years; and at the time in which I first came to Oxford for the prosecution of my studies, died

at the end of the Easter term in the year 1432, about the month of June, when the general eclipse happened upon the day of Saint Botulphus.”* This curious passage records a very interesting fact in the history of Bristol, and contemplated in conjunction with the public library of the Kalendaries, presents a pleasing picture of the literary character of the citizens in the fifteenth century.

An act of the legislature has been obtained for erecting a prison, a sessions and council-house, in buildings contiguous to each other. The opposition which the measure experienced has hitherto prevented its execution, and the delay has been so considerable that it is now generally understood that the act is not intended to be carried into effect. If any circumstance renders the execution of the plan desirable, it is that the victims of public justice may no longer be obtruded upon the public view. In Bristol, however, this inconvenience is comparatively inconsiderable from the infrequency of such spectacles. During the last five years no instance has occurred, notwithstanding the capital convictions of every session of oyer and terminer have been at least three. Thus is the execution of the law tempered with mercy, and refined by the general dissemination of liberal and philanthropic sentiments, while the criminal code is characterised by a severity little inferior to that of Draco. Those who contend for the abolition of capital punishment because experience has determined that they are inadequate for the prevention of crimes, may rejoice in this practical acknowledgment of their inutility, since it pledges the national honour to render the criminal laws at least equally mild with the established practice of the courts.

* At New-yate ubi quondam scola grammatica per magistrum Robertum Lane principalem grammaticum cum Leland magistro grammaticorum in Oxonia, dicebatur fuisse flos grammaticorum et poetarum temporibus annis plurimis revolutis, et tempore quo primum veni ad Oxoniam universitatem scolatizandi obiit in termino paschæ A. D. 1432 circa mensem junii, quando generalis eclipsis die sancti Botulphi accidebat.” Itin. de Wor. p. 178.

CHAPTER THE SECOND.

CONTENTS.

Society of the Kalendars ; its Antiquity proved by Worcester and Leland ; place in which it was held ; Members of which the Society was composed ; its Library ; Dissolution—Ricaut, one of the Kalendars—Nunnery of Mary Magdalen ; Situation ; History and Dissolution—Franciscan Friary—The Carmelites—Biographic Notice of Hooper—St. Bartholomew's Hospital—Convent of Dominican Friars—The Society of the Knights' Templars—Augustine Friary—Fraternity of the Holy Ghost—St. Vincent's Chapel—Hermitage of St. Brendan—Chapels of the Castle—Chapels on the Bridge and on the Back—Martyrs—Notices of Sharp, Hale, and Benion—Persecution of the Quakers—Comparative Numbers of Religious Sects in the Nineteenth Century.

CHAPTER THE SECOND.



IT has generally been asserted and almost as generally believed, that the natural progress of the human mind as well as of nations is from barbarism to refinement and from refinement to imbecility. Of individuals this assertion may be admitted as generally correct ; but that the same conclusion should be adopted of the progress of intellect, appears as inconsistent with the decisions of liberal philosophy as it is certainly repugnant to the feelings of that philanthropy which expects the final triumph of virtue and of happiness, from the constant advancement and general diffusion of the discoveries of science.

Opposed however to these speculations of philosophy are the decisions of experience. It is certain that the human mind did arrive at a high degree of perfection in the empires of Greece and Rome, and in comparatively a short period after, sunk into that dreadful ignorance which has obtained for the period of its duration the humiliating but appropriate title of the “ ages of darkness.”*

The civil history of Bristol has been continued through this period, and from

* If it be contended that this retrogradation can be effected only by the operation of causes as violent as extraordinary, the state of literature in Spain during the last age is a proof that the same effect may be produced by different causes ; however retarded in the *rapidity* of its progress by the art of printing.

the dawn of philosophy and science to the present age, in which it may be presumed they are approaching their meridian splendour. But before we enter more immediately into the ecclesiastical history of Bristol, we shall detail some few of the effects which were produced in Bristol by the diffusion of that puerile superstition which was the characteristic of the dark ages. Such as the erection of the secluded cloister or gloomy monastery, together with similar structures which derived their origin from the piety of the times.

Among the most ancient establishments of this nature, not only of Bristol but perhaps of the kingdom, was the society of the Kalendaries, so denominated according to some from the time of their general meetings, which are said to have been usually held on the Calends or first days of the month; but according to others the name is derived from their keeping kalenders or registers of the public acts, and other interesting transactions of the city. The objects for which this society was first instituted it is impossible at this distance of time to ascertain; but those to which its attention was directed in the most flourishing periods of the society appear to have been the recording of such occurrences in the history of Bristol, and probably also in the history of the kingdom, as were deemed worthy of notice; the cultivation of the literature of the times, the conversion of jews and infidels to christianity, and the education of youth. In this period of its history and in the prosecution of these objects, the society of the Kalendaries appear to have had some coincidence with the objects which the society of Jesus professed to prosecute in the early periods of its history; before it was polluted by mingling in all the low intrigues of a narrow, crooked and guilty policy.

To the antiquity of the society of the Kalendaries the most unexceptionable testimony is a confirmation of its rights and privileges granted them by Cardinal Gualo,* the pope's legate, immediately after crowning Henry III. at Gloucester

* It appears from a manuscript of Ricaut, in the possession of the Corporation, denominated the "little red

in 1216. This confirmation is expressly stated to have been granted them on account both of their great antiquity and eminent services; from which it is evident that the society must have existed a very considerable period before the year 1216 and had then obtained a distinguished reputation.

William of Worcester visited the Kalendaries about 1478, and it appears that his maternal uncle Thomas Botoner had been a member of the society, but he gives no information respecting him, except that he was buried in the north part of the new aisle of All-Saints' church. He denominates it a "college of presbyters" and affirms it to be of high antiquity; "that it was founded in honour of the feast of Corpus Christi, long before the Norman conquest about the year 700."* It would also seem that the members of the society were anxious to convince him of the antiquity of the institution; and for this purpose exhibited several deeds, which produced a firm conviction that their pretensions to a high antiquity were founded upon historical documents.† Leland‡ also in his mention of the Kalendaries, affirms that the original of this society "is out of mind," or of very great antiquity.

book," that Henry III. and Gualo visited the Kalendaries and held a council in Bristol, in which all the privileges of the society were confirmed. In the same MS. is preserved a deed, in which the principal facts relative to the antiquity of the Kalendaries are recapitulated, and the confirmation of the legate is referred to as having been granted "propter antiquitates et bonitates in ea gildâ repertas."

* Collegium presbitorum vocatum le kalenders in occidentali parte ecclesiæ omnium sanctorum in quo collegio Thomas Botoner unculus meus fuit frater collegii, et sepelitur in meridionali novæ ecclesiæ omnium sanctorum, ab antiquo fundatum diu ante conquestum Willelmi Conquestoris. Itin. de Worcestre, page 190.

It must be remembered that all the quotations from Worcester are taken *literally* and *verbally* from the published copy of his Itinerary, and consequently that the author of this work is in no degree responsible for the latinity.

† Fraternitas fundata ante tempus Willelmi Conquestoris Angliæ circa annum Christi 700, ut per literas certificatoriâs tempore Sancti Wolstani episcopi sub antiqua manu vidi et legi. Itin. de Wor. page 253.

‡ Leland's Itinerary, Vol. vii.

The society was originally held in the church of the Holy Trinity,* afterwards denominated Christ Church, which was taken down, in order to give place to the present elegant structure, in 1787. This was one of the four ancient structures which it is supposed were formerly in the centre of the city, and surrounded the High-Cross. It was afterwards removed to the church of All-Saints, in which it continued till the dissolution. The house and school of the Kalendaries appear to have been of considerable extent, and it is by no means improbable that the space upon which the exchange is erected, was originally the burying-ground of this society.

The members of the society of the Kalendaries are said to have consisted of the clergy and commonalty of Bristol. It is, therefore, probable that the number of its members was different in different periods; but the direction of the society appears to have been vested in a prior, who, with four chaplains or chauntry priests, constituted the ecclesiastical part of the establishment.

By far the most interesting part of the establishment of the Kalendaries was their library, which was accessible to all the citizens. The liberality, indeed, of its regulations in this particular, entitles it to the highest commendation, and is deserving of a more general imitation in similar establishments. It was ordered that on festival days, two hours before nine and for two hours after, free access should be granted to *all* who were disposed to read or to consult the books contained in the library, and the prior was directed to attend for that purpose, as well as to explain such difficulties as might occur to those who came for the sake of instruction.

The situation of the library was over the north aisle of the church of All-

* Ante tempus Edwardi tercii [fraternitas] scita in ecclesia parochiali sanctæ trinitatis, ut per relacionem prioris dicti prioratus certificatum fuit. Itin. de Wor. page 253.

Saints, towards Corn-street, but by the several repairs and alterations which the church has undergone is now entirely removed. The books which the library contained are represented to have related principally to Saxon antiquities, history and law, and to have amounted to eight hundred. The library was unfortunately destroyed by a fire in 1466, by which many very valuable manuscripts were lost, and with them many of the records and archives of Bristol.

One of the most eminent members of this society was Robert Ricaut, of whom a biographic notice has already been given among the recorders, and to whom frequent references have been made in the course of this work. Nor is it by any means improbable that Canynge, and if the existence of Rowley* and the other characters mentioned in the Rowleian poems be admitted, it is highly probable that they also were members of this establishment, and cultivated, it may be imbibed, their love for literature from its library.

During this period of the history of Bristol its literature obtained a distin-

* It is deserving of observation that reception and rejection are precisely the same intellectual processes, so far as they are connected with mental exertion. Patience of investigation as it is the characteristic of intellectual superiority, so it is in consequence limited to the few. The majority will always reject or adopt with all the promptitude of intuition.

It is by no means intended that these general observations should be understood in depreciation of the talents of any of those who have engaged in the Rowleian controversy. The ability and erudition of the disputants, and the services that controversy has rendered to the literature of the fifteenth century, constitute, in the opinion of the author, its *real* importance. The immediate object of this note was to observe, that to deny the existence of such a person as Rowley seems no trifling degree of scepticism; since it is an indubitable fact that such a family long flourished in Bristol, and in the age of Canynge was very numerous and of great respectability. Thomas Rowley filled the office of bailiff, in 1466, and William Rowley, in 1474. Walter Rowley and William Rowley are recorded among the benefactors to All-Saints' church; and there are two persons of the name of Thomas Rowley, mentioned in the register of the diocese of Wells; one of whom is supposed by Mr. Bryant to be the author of the Rowleian Poems. See Observations on the Poems attributed to Rowley, page 535, 543, 544.

guished place in the literary history of the age. This pre-eminence is conspicuous in the many literary characters it produced in that age, and is unquestionably to be ascribed to the influence of its *public* library. It may be true that genius will “trample upon impossibilities,”* and *create* the advantages which it does not possess; yet the literary character of a *city* or a *nation* will never rise to mediocrity if it be not fostered by public libraries conducted in the genuine spirit of liberality.

After the destruction of their library no remarkable events are recorded of the Kalendaries till they sunk amid the general ravages which the avarice of Henry VIII. occasioned among similar establishments.

In point of antiquity the next ecclesiastical establishment of Bristol was a nunnery dedicated to Mary Magdalen. This appears to have been the most ancient nunnery in Bristol, and was founded by Eva, wife of Robert Fitzharding, founder of the monastery of St. Augustine, and niece of William the Conqueror, about the year 1140.

The nunnery of Mary Magdalen stood nearly on the ground now occupied by the inn known by the sign of the King-David, at the bottom of St. Michael's-Hill,† and gave the name of Magdalen-Lane to the avenue conducting to St. Michael's-Hill, now corrupted in to Maudlin-Lane.‡

* “I trample upon impossibilities” was the energetic language of the *great* Chatham, which, as characteristic of the undeviating decision of mental superiority, may claim a pre-eminence with similarity to the maxim of Horace, “Nil mortalibus arduum est.”

† Prope ecclesiam Sancti Michaelis. Itin. de Wor. p. 264.

‡ The names of streets, &c. may afford materials for thinking during the perambulation of a large city, which lead to subjects intimately connected with its history. The bridge over the From, conducting from the Broad-Weir to Castle-Ditch, was anciently denominated *Ella's* bridge; and the street adjoining, now called

Forming our conceptions from novels or romances rather than from historical testimony, it has been the fashion of modern times to associate dissoluteness with our conceptions of monasteries, and impurity with the establishment of a nunnery. In these general conclusions are forgotten the piety and resignation which might have frequently been found in the gloomy cloister, and the meekness and saint-like submission which were generally the inhabitants of the nunnery. In this levelling principle we forget that in these establishments the indigent had their wants supplied, and the children of sorrow and suffering found a ready asylum, in which the hand of sympathy was always cheerfully extended to mitigate affliction.

The nunnery of Mary Magdalen may be placed among the number of those religious establishments which have a tendency to rectify such erroneous conceptions. In 1284, Giffard, bishop of Worcester, visited this house to inspect its regulations and the morals of its inhabitants. Upon both of these he bestowed the highest encomiums, and reported that nothing relative to the establishment required an alteration, except that the vicar of St. Michael's had detained from the nuns an annual rent of two shillings and two pounds of pepper and cummins, for which he was ordered to make immediate restitution.

In regard to its revenues this nunnery appears to have been very distant from a splendid establishment. At the period of its dissolution it was valued at the trifling sum of twenty-one pounds eleven shillings and three pence per annum; but even this indigence presented too great a temptation to royal avarice* to be resisted, and it fell amid the general pillage in 1540.

Ellbroad-Street, was originally *Ella's-Bridge-Street*; a name probably derived from the individual upon whom the incomparable tragedy of Ella has conferred an immortality of reputation.

* Whatever advantages have resulted from the dissolution of monasteries and other religious houses, no praise is due to Henry, since it is unquestionable that avarice and revenge were the tyrant's only motives for their dissolution.

It appears that Bristol, prior to the dissolution, contained several other religious houses, some of which have given place to other edifices, and have scarcely left a trace to point out their precise situation. Others have been appropriated to the different purposes of benevolence or of commerce, but have been so mutilated and changed by the alterations they have undergone at different times, as to convey very imperfect conceptions of what they once were.

Besides the nunnery of Mary Magdalen, Leland mentions a nunnery dedicated to Saint Margaret;* and it appears that there was also a nunnery attached to the church of Saint Lawrence, which stood near Saint John's in Bell-Lane. Of neither of these structures are any traces at present discoverable, and no particulars respecting them have been recorded.

The principal convent of Bristol was probably that of the franciscan, or grey friars, which was situated in Lewin's-Mead, at no great distance from the spot on which is now erected Lewin's-Mead-Meeting. Tanner mentions this convent in the *Notitia Monastica*, and Leland describes its situation as on the right bank of the river From, not far from the hospital of Saint Bartholomew, which is now the city-school. This convent was founded about the year 1223, but who was its founder and what were the revenues with which it was endowed it is now impossible to determine. The probability, indeed, is that the houses of the monks were never endowed with great revenues at their erection, their churches which were generally large being the principal source from which their income was derived; either from the legacies of those who chose to be buried in them, or from such funds as the piety of our ancestors appropriated to secure the prayers of the clergy for the repose of departed spirits.

* "There was an hospital of old tyme where of late was a nunrye called St. Margaret's. Leland's Itinerary, Vol. vii.

Worcester describes the church of this convent as it stood in 1480, in the following terms. "The choir of the church contains in length fifty steps, the breadth of the choir eighteen steps, the length of the nave of the said church with the two aisles contains fifty-two steps, the breadth of the belfry square tower contains seven steps; there are four arches in the north nave of the church, and as many in the south.* This church, together with the convent and whatever other buildings were connected with it, have been entirely destroyed, and the only remaining trace of its existence is, that the space upon which it is supposed to have stood is called the "White Friars."

Of the other ancient religious houses in Bristol the next in importance is that of the Carmelites; whether the splendour of the establishment or the eminent persons connected with its history be made the criterion of determination. It was situated on the eminence a little above the From, which was then denominated Friar's Hill, but at present Saint Augustine's-Place, on the ground now occupied by Colston's school. The extent of the house of the carmelites, sometimes called a friary and at others a priory, was from Colston's school to the red-lodge, and it appears to have occupied all the space from Pipe-Lane to Steep-Street. Leland denominates it a priory, and describes its situation to be "on the right bank of the Froome, over against the Key," and bestows upon it the high commendation of being the "fairest of all the houses of the frieries in Bristol."

The house of the carmelites claims the honour of a royal foundation, since it was founded, according to Speed, in 1267, by Edward I. probably before his accession to the throne.† After it had flourished during nearly three centuries

* *Ecclesia et conventus fratrum sancti Francisci in parochia Sancti Jacobi in vico Lewenysmede, &c.* Itin. de Wor. 237 et 284.

† Worcester gives the dimensions of the church of the carmelites, but has recorded no circumstances respecting them. Itin. de Wor. page 188.

with peculiar splendour and with a very distinguished reputation for the piety and learning of its members, it experienced the same fate as similar establishments which fell under the rapacious hands of Henry VIII.

Among the priors of the carmelites will be found some of the most illustrious characters of the age in which they respectively flourished. Of these Milverton, Stow, and Spine, will constitute distinct articles in the chapter it is proposed to appropriate to the biography of eminent persons natives of Bristol. It must suffice here to notice that Nicholas Cantilupe, D. D. of the University of Cambridge, was prior of the carmelites, and died at Northampton in 1441. His successor, John Hooper, was prior at the period of the dissolution, and is celebrated as a man of great learning for the age in which he lived. After the dissolution he resided during some time upon the continent, and having enjoyed considerable intercourse with the first opposers of popery became a convert to the doctrines of the reformation. He returned to England about the year 1550, where his learning, candour and piety, procured him the dignity of a mitre by an elevation to the bishopric of Gloucester. This distinguished situation, notwithstanding he adorned it with all the virtues of primitive christianity, marked him as a victim for the demon of persecution; and Hooper obtained the crown of martyrdom in 1569, amid the destruction occasioned by the intolerant bigotry of the deluded Mary. The scene of his martyrdom was before the west gate of the cathedral of Gloucester.*

After the dissolution, the carmelite friary was purchased by the corporation, and sold by them again in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, divided into two estates. The friary was purchased by Thomas Chester, Esq. and the lodge by Thomas Rowland, merchant; but the whole appears to have been soon afterwards purchased by Sir John Young, who erected the house at present

* Fox's martyrology.

appropriated to the school as a mansion-house. This was the usual residence of the nobility who visited Bristol, and was once honoured by the presence of Queen Elizabeth, who kept her court and held a council there during her residence in Bristol. Sir Fernando Gorges inhabited it in 1642, and when he quitted it Mr. Lane became its purchaser, who converted it into a sugar-house. Thus it remained till the truly great Colston bought it in 1708, to dedicate it to the noblest objects of benevolence, that by diffusing among the children of indigence the blessings of education, he might lay the firmest foundation for a superstructure sacred to virtue and to happiness.

The building which is at present used as the city-school, was a religious house dedicated to Saint Bartholomew. It is denominated by Leland an hospital, and described as in a ruinous condition at the time he visited it, probably about 1535; and Worcester mentions it as having been anciently "a priory of regular canons."* From which accounts it is probable that it was originally designed for a priory, but was afterwards converted into a lazar house, or hospital, principally for the relief of persons labouring under the leprosy.

In extent the priory of Saint Bartholomew was considerable. On one side it was contiguous to the franciscan friary, and on another it nearly extended to the nunnery of Mary Magdalen. The date of its erection has not been recorded, but the honour of the foundation has been ascribed to one of the ancestors of Lord de la Warre.

At the period of the dissolution the hospital was purchased by the executors of Mr. Robert Thorn, for the erection of a free grammar-school; for which purpose it was used during several years, till the grammar-school was removed to Trinity-street, and the city-school to the hospital of Saint Bartholomew.

* *Ecclesia Sancti Bartholomi, quondam prioratus canonicorum regularium per antecessores domini de le Warre fundata, et modo hospitale pauperum. Itin. de Wor. page 208.*

There was a convent of dominican, or black friars, at a little distance from the river Froom, near the spot which is at present occupied by the friends' meeting-house. Part of the cloister still remains; the building over it has been appropriated to a charity-school, and is occasionally used as a dissenting place of worship.

The ruins of the church of this convent existed so late as the year 1748, and are represented to have been of considerable extent and some degree of magnificence. The dimensions of the church have been preserved by William of Worcester in the following terms. "The length of the choir was forty-four paces, and its breadth fourteen; the nave of the church contained fifty-eight paces in length, and thirty-four in breadth; and the cloister extended on the four sides of the church forty paces. He gives the names of the most eminent persons who were buried in the church; among which are those of Richard Spicer, the founder of Saint George's chapel in the Guildhall, and of William Botoner his brother, who died on the 15th December, 1429.*

Maurice de Gaunt is represented by Leland as the founder of this convent about the year 1228. Maurice was heir to Robert de Gourney, probably the founder of the house of the Gaunts, now denominated the Mayor's Chapel, but certainly a great benefactor to the establishment. Several members of this illustrious family were buried in the church of the dominicans, but the monuments which were designed to perpetuate their memory have been unfaithful to the deposit, and they, together with their records, are now sunk into oblivion.

The society of the knights templars, afterwards denominated the prior and brethren of Saint John of Jerusalem, had their house in the parish of Temple, probably near Temple-Gate, and adjoining the cloisters of the Augustinian Friary. This society was of some antiquity and possessed considerable wealth and influence.

* Itin. de Wor. page 233, 234.

Its institution is generally referred to the beginning of the twelfth century, and Dugdale* mentions Robert earl of Gloucester as a liberal benefactor to the society. Their wealth enabled them to found Temple church, which derives its name from the society, though it does not appear that the total expences of completing it were defrayed by them, as the church seems to have been erected at different periods.

The estates of the society were extensive, and its influence so great that it enabled the prior and brethren of Saint John of Jerusalem to claim an extensive jurisdiction independently of the civil authority of Bristol. This jurisdiction was exerted in granting and defending several peculiar privileges of the inhabitants of Temple, who for the most part were the society's tenants. The corporation refused to recognize this jurisdiction, and actually violated the privileges claimed in consequence of it by the inhabitants of Temple. A controversy arose and litigation ensued between the lord prior and the corporation, which was not determined till the entire dissolution of the existing ecclesiastical power and polity in the kingdom gave the civil authority a splendid triumph.

It is difficult to ascertain if the privileges† claimed by the inhabitants of Temple by virtue of the grant of the lord prior, were the same as those which they claimed as belonging to Temple fee. It does, however, appear that the peculiar privileges belonging to Temple fee, were resigned to the opposition they encountered some time before the dissolution.

At the period of the dissolution the estates of the society were purchased by the corporation, and have continued in their possession to the present time. Of these estates it may deserve observation, that, as the lands were the property of a

* Monasticon, Vol. II.

† One of the *privileges* which they claimed was “ the liberty of selling their merchandize in open shops without molestation ;” and another “ that no processes should be served in their parish by the city officers.” Thus it is probable that Temple as well as Redcliff were originally appendages rather than parts of the city.

religious establishment, they were exempt from tythes, and that the exemption still continues.

In the same parish, and, probably, at no great distance from the establishment of the brethren of St. John of Jerusalem, was a convent of friars under the denomination of the "Brothers Eremites of St. Augustine." Sir Simon and Sir William Montacute have the honour of the foundation of this convent, which appears, from William of Worcester, to have been consecrated in the month of July in the year 1320.*

Tanner mentions "the Augustine friars house, which was near Temple gate, within it, on the north side."† It is also mentioned by Worcester, who describes its church, which appears to have been very small.‡ With its history no interesting circumstances are connected; and it has so completely vanished in the lapse of time, that, independently of historical testimony, not a single trace remains of its former existence.

In addition to the societies, or religious communities, which have already been noticed, some others anciently existed in Bristol, of which few circumstances have been recorded. Of these one of the most ancient was a society denominated "the fraternity of St. John the Baptist," which was attached to the church of St. Ewen, and had a chapel in that church appropriated to the society, and dedicated to St. John. Whether this society was a religious or secular establishment rests entirely upon conjecture, and therefore must be undetermined. The evidence for its existence is principally derived from William of Worcester, who mentions, in his description of the church of St. Ewen, the chapel belonging "to the fraternity of John the Baptist."§

* Itin. de Wor. page 232:

+ Notitia Monastica.

‡ Itin de Wor. page 229.

§ Capella in parte meridionali ecclesiæ parochialis Sancti Audeoni, quæ capella est in honore Sancti Johannis Baptista, et fraternitas magnifica pertinet dictæ capellæ.—Itin. de Wor. page 253.

It is probable that after the dissolution, when the society of merchant taylors became a chartered company, their usual place of meeting was the chapel of the fraternity of St. John, from which circumstance the history of these societies have been confounded with each other. The chapel of the fraternity of St. John was on the south side of the church of St. Ewen, and was removed to erect the old council-house in 1552.

A similar society to that of the fraternity of St. John the Baptist was attached to St. Nicholas church. This society possessed a chapel in that church, denominated "the chapel to the honour of the Holy Cross,"* but the usual place of the society's meetings was in the crypt, or croud. This was in the genuine spirit of monkish institutions, and seems inseparable from monkish feelings, literally "to love darkness rather than light." The society had assumed the appellation of the fraternity of the Holy Ghost; but no other circumstance is recorded of them, except that the "drynkyng of the brotherhoode on Holy-rood day" amounted to five pounds, six shillings, when *double* ale was charged at two-pence per gallon in the money of the times.

There was a religious society under the same appellation attached to Redcliff church, which possessed a chapel in it dedicated to the Holy Ghost. Few particulars concerning this society have been recorded, and those few possess such similarity to the history of the societies which have already been noticed, that their repetition would excite no interest, either in the antiquary, or the general reader.

In this survey of the effects of that puerile superstition, which was the characteristic of the dark ages, it would be a considerable deficiency in the history of religious structures in Bristol, to omit the chapels, which were erected during this period. Of these the first which solicits attention is that dedicated to St. Vincent;

* Itin. de Wor. page 249.

from whom the rocks, which frown in awful grandeur, adjoining the Hotwells, derive their appellation.

It is by no means easy to determine whether this building, which was erected on the highest part of the rocks, was in reality a chapel, or, which is most probably merely an hermitage. Its patron saint is said to have been a native of Spain, and to have suffered martyrdom in the commencement of the fourth century. The rocks alone at present preserve his name; but the well itself was originally denominated the well of Saint Vincent.

Worcester in his mention of this hermitage has included a church, situated on the highest point of the cliff which he calls Ghystoncliff.*

On the adjoining down, which Worcester denominated Thyrdam-doune, he informs us was a small chapel of the Holy Cross,† situated between the hermitage of St. Vincent and the college of Westbury.

Similar to St. Vincent's was the hermitage dedicated to St. Brendan, from which Brendan-Hill derives its name. The patron of this hermitage was a native of Ireland; but no other particulars concerning him have been ascertained. Worcester says that this hermitage belonged to the priory of St. James and adds that the hill upon which it is situated is said to bear a resemblance to mount Calvary, near Jerusalem.‡ William of Wickham mentions this hermitage, and informs us that forty days of indulgence had been granted to Reginald Taillor, the hermit, in 1403. It also appears that a female anchorite was the inhabitant of the hermitage about 1352, who had requested and obtained permission from the bishop of Worcester to withdraw from the pleasures and temptations of life, in order to procure leisure for the practice of all the severe duties of a gloomy piety in the abstracted seclusion of the hermitage of St. Brendan.

* Itin. de Wor. page 261.

† Itin. de Wor. page 202.

‡ Itin. de Wor. page 261.

The most ancient chapels of Bristol were probably those connected with the castle. William of Worcester mentions two;* one claimed St. Martin for its patron, and the other, probably the same with that mentioned by Leland, was dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen. The last of these is called by William of Worcester a "magnificent chapel," and he informs us that it was appropriated to the accommodation of "the king, his lords, and ladies."† It is more probable, that in this chapel the governor of the castle and his officers, usually attended divine worship.

Worcester visited the castle and the buildings connected with it about 1480, and describes the structure in general, and these chapels in particular, as making approaches to decay. Leland visited Bristol in the reign of Henry VIII. probably about the year 1535. At this period it appears that only one of the chapels remained connected with the castle, which he calls "a party church," but finishes his survey of the whole structure by remarking that "all tendeth to ruine."

The chapel of Mary Magdalen is said to have been founded by Ella, in 918, and to have contained a statue of this hero, which was afterwards removed to Ella's Gate and then to New Gate, and is at present preserved, together with a few other antiquities of Bristol, in some buildings erected in the gothic style at the seat of the late John Maxse, Esq. at Arno's Vale, on the Bath Road.

Of the chapels within the city, the most remarkable for its situation was one erected upon the old Bristol Bridge, which was dedicated to the blessed Virgin, and completed in 1360. William of Worcester describes its length to be thirty-six paces, which he also calls twenty-five yards; and its breadth twelve paces, or seven yards. In the lower part of the building was an arched room of the same extent as the chapel, for the use of the aldermen of the city.‡ The chapel contained

* Itin de Wor. page 270.

† Itin. de Wor. page 234.

‡ Itin de Wor. page 234.

four great windows on each side, in addition to a high window over the altar, and a small chapel with an altar on the east side.

The honour of founding this chapel has been given to Edward III. and his queen Philippa, but it appears that the expenses of erecting and supporting it were defrayed by the citizens. The chapel of the Virgin was destroyed during the tumult of the civil commotions in 1644.

A small chapel dedicated to Saint Giles formerly stood near the church of St. Leonard, which was taken down in 1772, with the gate attached to it, in order to afford space for the erection of Clare-Street. It was united with St. Leonard's as early as 1301, and no interesting circumstances respecting it have been recorded.

In Baldwin-Street was an ancient chapel deserving notice for having been the school of Mathews, in which Henry II. and Robert Fitzharding first lord of Berkeley, and founder of the monastery of St. Augustine, were educated. It is said to have been afterwards converted into a mansion, in which Fitzharding is represented to have resided. In a subsequent period it appears that there was a small chapel near this, dedicated to St. John.

Upon the Back was a chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist. The founder of this chapel is denominated by Worcester a venerable merchant, whose name was — Knap.* Its endowment was for the maintenance of two priests, whose duty was to celebrate mass every morning at five, that the merchants, mariners, and such persons as were employed in loading or unloading vessels, might have an opportunity of attending divine worship, before they mixed in the ordinary business and pleasures of the day.

* Itin. de Wor. page 226.

These are the principal ancient structures of Bristol appropriated to religion, of which any historical account has been preserved. In this survey a few ancient churches have been omitted, that they might with more propriety, be comprised in the historical notice of the churches with which they were consolidated. It must suffice to mention here, the names and situations of these churches, referring to other parts of the work for such circumstances as may be connected with their history. The first is the church of St. Ewen, one of the four ancient churches, which are said to have surrounded the High Cross, opposite to the church of All Saints, behind the council-house, consolidated with Christ church. Worcester mentions the parish of St. Egidie in Small-street, which was united with the parish of St. Laurence, or of St. Leonard, in the reign of Edward III. It appears also, that this church contained a chapel or temple for the use of the Jews.* The church of St. Laurence was in a line with St. John's, towards the east, and consolidated with it; St. Leonard's was consolidated with St. Nicholas. The churches of St. John, St. Laurence, St. Edige,† and St. Leonard's were in the circular wall which constituted the boundary, and in part, the fortification of the old city. Canyng's chapel, and some other ancient buildings, will be described in the appendix, in which it is proposed to give as accurate an account as can be obtained, of the existing antiquities of Bristol.

To this account of the ancient religious structures of Bristol, may be added a brief notice of two others in its vicinity, which are frequently mentioned in connexion with them in the early periods of its history. The buildings referred to are the monastery at Westbury on the Trym, and the abbey of Black Canons, at Keynsham. It is only necessary to premise that these notices, and the account of the city crosses which succeeds them, are extracted from a valuable manuscript

* Itin. page 249.

† Ecclesia parochialis Sancti Laurencii scita directa linea ex parte orientali ecclesie parochialis Sancti Egidii. Itin. de. Wor. p. 249.

history of Bristol, which appears to have been commenced previously to the year 1773, and was continued to the year 1790. This manuscript is the property of a descendant of its author, to whom we owe our best acknowledgments, for the prompt liberality with which he permitted us to use its contents.

“ Westbury, anciently Westminster on Trim, or Trymme. A monastery here is mentioned in the acts of the Synod of Clovesho, A.D. 824, which, with several lands hereabouts, was given by Ethelric, son of Ethelmund, after the death of his mother, to the bishopric of Worcester. But Oswald, bishop of that see, in 983 replaced the monks, who had been partly removed to Ramsey, and partly driven away by the wars. This religious house was rebuilt in 1093, to the honour of the Blessed Virgin; the old possessions were recovered, new were added, and the monks were restored by Wulstan, bishop of Worcester; who made it a cell to the priory of Worcester. But his successor, bishop Sampson, in the reign of Henry I. revoked the said grant, and removed the monks. From which time nothing occurs of any religious house in this place till about 1228, when Godfrey Giffard, bishop of Worcester, endeavoured to make several churches in these parts of the patronage of Worcester prebendal to his of Westbury, which, after great opposition from the prior and convent of Worcester, he effected; and here became a college for a dean and canons in the gift of the bishop of Worcester, and dedicated to the Holy Trinity. This college was afterwards augmented by the benefactions of John Carpenter, bishop of Worcester, (who sometimes styled himself bishop of Westbury,) Richard, Duke of York, Edward IV. William Cannings, who was afterwards dean here, and others. At the dissolution it was valued at 223*l.* 14*s.* per annum, and was granted by Henry VIII. to Sir Ralph Sadler.”*

“ The abbey of the Black Canons, at Keynsham was founded by William,

earl of Gloucester, about the year 1170, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary, to St. Peter, and St. Paul. It was valued at the dissolution at 419*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.* according to Dugdale, and at 450*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* according to Speed, and granted by Edward VI. to Thomas Bridges, Esq."

The principal ancient crosses of Bristol were five :

1.—St. Alledge or Stallange Cross, stood near the Long-row; but whether in St. Thomas or Temple-street, is not certain. The manuscript before mentioned says, " in St. Thomas-street, opposite the west front of the corner house on the right hand going into the Long-row."*

2.—" Temple Cross, in Temple-street, at the north end was a stone building in the form of a pinnacle, with ornamented Gothic members."

3.—" The High Cross, in High-street, was erected in 1373, and in succeeding times was adorned with the statues of four kings who had been benefactors to the city. These faced the four adjoining streets: that of John being northward, Henry III. eastward, Edward III. westward, and Edward IV. southward. In 1633 it was taken down, enlarged, and raised higher, when four other statues were added, viz. Henry VI. on the east, Elizabeth on the west, James I. on the south, and Charles I. on the north. It was at the same time surrounded with iron rails, gilded and painted. About 1736 it was removed to the middle of Collège-Green. It was again taken down in 1754, and is now standing at Stourhead, in Wiltshire, the seat of Sir R. C. Hoare. The height of it was thirty-nine feet six inches."

4.—“ St. Peter's Cross stood at the west end of St. Peter's-street, on a turret adorned with statues supported on four pillars with arches, and under the turret was a well with a pump for public use. This cross was taken down in 1768, and another well, which communicates with that old well, was digged, and a public pump placed at the corner of Dolphin-street.”

5.—“ Baldwin's Cross stood on the north bank of the From, before the course of that river was altered in 1247, and near a mill, called Baldwin's Cross Mill. This mill had three water wheels, as appears by the number of thoroughs, converted afterwards into so many cellars and filled up with rubbish in 1773, because of their being rendered useless by the waters rising in them. Those three vents or thoroughs were under the corner house of that part of Baldwin-street, opposite the lane leading to Blind Steps. On the coin-end story post of that house there is now [1774] to be seen the figure of a man, cut or carved in base relievo which, according to tradition, was done for one called Johnny Ball,* a principal person concerned in building [old] Bristol bridge. As was also carved on the corner post of a house at the end of that bridge and corner of Redcliff-street, the figure of one David Mitchel, another such person in that undertaking, which house was pulled down with the old bridge about 1762.”†

Religious opinions in Bristol, prior to the reformation, were, probably, the same as in other parts of the popish world, in which the majority were usually content to believe what their superiors, in the plentitude of their wisdom and charity, were pleased to prescribe. This mental tyranny, however, was too unnatural to continue for ever, because that creed which is the conception of tyranny, is always too absurd to bear the most distant approach of the

* Perhaps the same person from whom Johnny-Ball-Lane derives its appellation.

† M.S. Memoirs and Annals of Bristol.

spirit of investigation. It is true, that in the struggle which ensued, bigotry and cruelty combined with the worst of tyranny, in the sanguinary career of intolerance ; but it was only to witness, finally, the triumphs of the mild spirit of humanity, religion, and philosophy.

When the demon of persecution inspired Mary with the determination of brandishing her savage torch, three of her victims were selected from among the citizens of Bristol, to swell the crowds she sacrificed at the shrine of bigotry. These were selected from among those of the humblest rank in society, and, destitute of the power which is procured by wealth, they appear to have possessed none of the influence which is derived from superior talents. Their piety was ardent, their faith sincere, their integrity undeviating, and in consequence of possessing these qualities, they preferred the approbation of their consciences to every other consideration. But characters such as these, the victims of persecution always must be ; for “ knaves who care not,” or “ fools who understand not,” will always be ready to accommodate themselves to circumstances, to worship as they are bidden, or to think as they are commanded.

To the honour of Holyman, at that time bishop of Bristol, it is recorded of him, that he refused to act any part in the persecutions of the times. The prosecutor was William Dalby, the chancellor of the diocese, who appears to have been distinguished by no quality, except the cruelty of intolerance, and whose name would have long since been buried in oblivion, if it had not thus been handed down to the execration of posterity.

The names of the victims were Richard Sharp, Thomas Hale, and Thomas Benion. Sharp and Benion were weavers, and Hale was a shoemaker. Of individuals in their humble sphere, the biography, if known, would excite no considerable interest ; but the fact is, that little has been recorded for the

gratification of curiosity. They were convicted of heresy, by denying the doctrine of transubstantiation, and were burned in 1557. Sharp and Hale suffered together on the seventh of May, and Benion on the thirteenth of the following August. Their fortitude was supported by the ardour of their faith, and their triumph shall be splendid at the resurrection of the just.

In the course of a few years popery became unfashionable at court, and protestantism was invested with all the power royal protection could bestow. This change effected a complete revolution in the conduct of the professors of the religion who had so severely felt, and so loudly reprobated, the interference of the civil authority with religious principles. The persecuted became persecutors, and thus demonstrated to the world, that it was not the principle of persecution they had disapproved, but its application. This effect might be produced either by deficiency of information, or depravity of principle; except it be referred to the indubitable maxim that an undue attachment to any system of religious opinions, abstracted from the immutable and eternal obligations of morality, is the natural parent of persecution.*

Among the sects who most severely felt the effects of protestant persecution in Bristol, the Quakers were conspicuous. Their sufferings might afford materials for a “tale of horror;” the details of which, in fiction, might amuse; but in historical narration could not fail to “harrow up the soul.” Of this sect it deserves observation—that whether they are contemplated as the victims of persecution, or as legislators, their conduct has always been in unison with christian philanthropy. The religious liberty, which they have asked for themselves, they have uniformly

* The beauty and importance of the following passage from one of the fathers, upon the subject of persecution, must apologise for its introduction:—“*Defendenda religio est, non occidendo, sed moriendo, non sævitia sed patientia: si sanguine, si tormentis, si MALO religionem defendere velis; jam non defendetur, sed POLLUETUR atque VIOLABITUR.*”

allowed to their fellow-men. The page of history is unstained by a single persecution inflicted by the legislators of Pennsylvania ; they discovered their reverence for religion, and their conviction of its sanctity, by permitting, that for his religious creed, every man should be accountable only to his conscience, and to his God.

Since it is the province of the historian to record events for the instruction of posterity, he must occasionally enter into details, which are more immediately intended for a distant age. Contemplating the possibility, rather than indulging the expectation, that this work may be consulted in another generation, a sketch of the comparative strength of the religious sects in Bristol, at the present period, is introduced, as an appropriate conclusion to the history of its ancient religious structures.

The members of the church may be contemplated as forming two distinct divisions, presenting, to say the least, *the appearance* of a schism within the church itself. By those who think that uniformity in religious opinions is desirable, this may be considered an inconvenience ; but the philosopher will discover here the operation of causes, the effect of which will be most friendly to the best interests of morality, and a demonstrative proof of the absurdity of attempting to limit the decisions of mind, by the authority of the statute law.

The first class of the members of the established religion, may be described, as endeavouring to combine the decisions of christian philosophy, with the doctrine of the articles. The individuals of the other class profess a more unreserved reverence for the doctrines, as contained in the *language* of the articles, combined with a more rigid system of morality. In point of numbers, it is difficult to determine, which of these classes, at present, possesses the majority in Bristol : but the appearance of an increase is in favour of that last mentioned.

Of the dissenters, the Methodists who acknowledge Mr. Wesley as their founder, are by far the most numerous; and the next in point of numbers, are the methodists of Mr. Whitfield. The Baptists support an academy in Bristol, for the education of young men designed for the ministry among them; their number is considerable, and generally supposed to be increasing. The Independents, in number, are to be placed next to the Baptists. The society of Friends will probably rank next in the scale of numbers; except it be supposed, that in this scale they should hold an equal line with the professors of Unitarianism. The Catholics are, comparatively, now few in number; and the followers of Emanuel Swedenbourg, considered as a religious society, have become extinct.

It will scarcely admit of a doubt, that different religious sects present those various motives for the performance of the moral duties, which are best calculated to influence the human mind, under the different modifications, which circumstances and education produce; and are thus of essential service in promoting the interests of virtue and happiness. Let them forget their little distinctions in the cultivation of the mild spirit of christian philanthropy, they will “blend with friendly union” into a perfect whole; and the object of the association will be, the extermination of immorality and infelicity.

CHAPTER THE THIRD.

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Monastery of St. Augustine—Biographic Sketch of its Founder Fitzharding—Extent of the Monastery, its Charters and Benefactions—College-Green; its Burying-Ground a Sanctuary—Tombs of the Berkeleys—Biographic Notice of Lord Robert Berkeley, Thomas, Maurice, &c.—Number of the Members of the Monastery—Its Abbots—Biographic Notice of Snow—Asch—Newland, and Elliot—Bishopric—Cathedral—Description of its Monuments and Copies of Inscriptions—Bishops—Notices of Bush—Fletcher—Westfield—Howell—Lake—Trelawney—Secker—Butler—Conybeare, and Newton—Deanery—Revenues—Warburton—Charities of the Foundation.



A VIEW OF THE CATHEDRAL, SEEN FROM THE WEST GARDEN.

CHAPTER THE THIRD.

THE Cathedral of Bristol is dedicated to the holy and undivided Trinity; and is the remains of an abbey or monastery of considerable splendour, which was dedicated to St. Augustine. This monastery, founded and endowed by one of the ancestors of the noble family of Berkeley, ranks many of that illustrious house among its benefactors. It was also denominated the monastery of the black regular canons of the order of Saint Victor, who are mentioned by Leland as the black canons of Saint Augustine without the city walls.*

The erection of the monastery was begun in 1140, and was finished and dedicated in 1148, as we are informed by the inscription on the tomb of its founder, Robert Fitz-harding, who is buried in this cathedral, and has a monument in the chapel of the Elder Lady, adjoining the north aisle. This monument is surrounded with iron rails, and near it is a plain marble table bearing the following inscription :

The Monument of
ROBERT FITZ-HARDING,
Lord of BERKELEY, descended from

* Leland's Itinerary, Vol. V.

the Kings of *Denmark*; and Eva his Wife, by whom he had five Sons and two Daughters: MAURICE, his eldest Son, was the first of this Family that took the Name of BERKELEY: This ROBERT FITZHARDING laid the Foundation of this Church, and Monastery of St. Augustine in the Year 1140, the fifth of King Stephen; dedicated and Endowed it in 1148. He died in the year 1170, in the 17th of King Henry the Second.

This Monument was Repaired

A.D. 1742.

From the said

ROBERT FITZHARDING, Lord of BERKELEY; AUGUSTUS the present Earl, is the two and twentieth in Descent.

Historians are not agreed in many particulars which have been recorded of the founder of this monastery. Some historians represent him as a citizen of Bristol of very considerable wealth; they add, that he resided in Baldwin-street, and was a merchant of great enterprise and success. He is generally represented as a younger son or grandson of the King of Denmark; and he is thus characterized in the inscription over the abbey gateway, which calls him *filiū regis Daciæ*, a son or descendant of the King of Denmark. Leland says, that he derived his origin from the royal race of the kingdom of Denmark, that he resided in Bristol in the year 1069, and was afterwards created Lord of Berkeley.* In a pedigree in Berkeley castle, he is mentioned as descended from

* Leland's Itinerary, Vol. VI. Camden says, "he was of the blood royal of Denmark, an alderman of

the royal line of the King of Denmark ; and it is added, that having accompanied William the First from Normandy, he was present at the battle of Hastings. As these pedigrees cannot refer to the founder of the monastery, they probably relate to an ancestor, and the following account from an ancient pedigree preserved in the British Museum, and given by Mr. Barrett, may be admitted as genuine: “ Hardinge Dane, inhabitant and mayor of Bristol, (to whom Maud the Empress, gave the castle, town, and barony of Berkeley) was of the line of the King of Denmark, and of great wealth and possessions in both counties of Gloucester and Somerset : he married Lyvida, a noble woman, and had by her issue three sons and two daughters ; his eldest son was Robert Fitzharding, first Lord of Berkeley, by gift of Henry the Second.”* In the season of youthful ardour, before the simplicity of nature is contaminated by the artificial distinctions of worldly policy, Robert Fitzharding became the friend of Henry, the son of the Empress Maud : this friendship, which was first formed at the school of Mathews in Bristol,† continued uninterrupted through the lives of each, and formed the basis of the fortunes of the illustrious house of Berkeley. One of the first acts of Henry the Second was to confer the honour of knighthood upon the friend of his youth, and soon after he made him heir to the estate of Roger, Lord of Berkeley and Dursley, which had been confiscated, because that nobleman had espoused the party of Stephen, in opposition to the claims of the Empress Maud, in behalf of her son. After having enjoyed all the favours royal friendship could bestow, he formed the resolution of renouncing the honours and pleasures of the world, and was determined to seek happiness in the shade of retirement, from peaceful contemplation, and the regular discharge of the duties of piety. In compliance with this resolution,

Bristol, and was so great with King Henry, that by his favour, Maurice his son married the daughter of the Lord de Barkley, from whence his posterity, who flourished in great state, are to this day called Barons of Barkley.” Gibson’s Camden, p. 74.

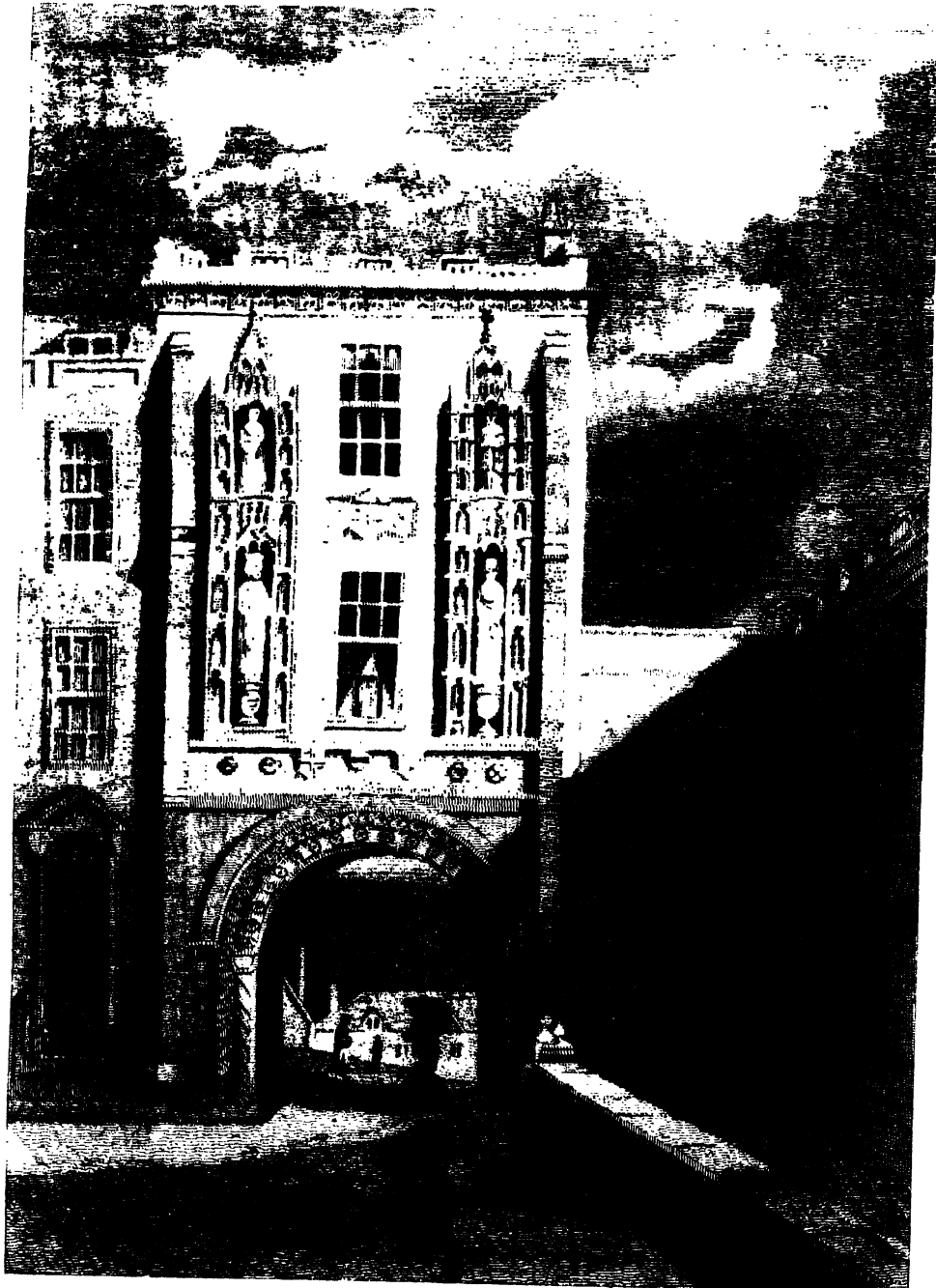
* Barrett’s History, page 248.

† Baker’s Chronicle.

he became a canon of the monastery he himself had founded ; and in this retreat, having attained the 75th year of his age, he died in 1170.

It is by no means easy to determine the extent of the building of which Fitzharding was the founder. The present cathedral is represented to have been merely the church of the monastery ; while the monastery itself is supposed to have extended on the west as far as the arched gateway, which at present forms the entrance to the Lower-Green. The inscription over the arch is now scarcely legible, but it originally stood thus, “ Rex Henricus secundus, et Dominus Robertus filius Hardingi, filii Regis Daciæ, hujus monasterii primi fundatores extiterunt.” “ Henry the Second, and Lord Robert, the son of Harding, a descendant of the King of Denmark, were the founders of this monastery ;” and it must be granted that this inscription seems to justify the conclusion, that this gateway was anciently the principal entrance to the monastery.

It is acknowledged that this extent of the monastery is supported by conjectural reasoning or traditionary report, rather than by historical testimony. Some antiquarians, therefore, naturally dissatisfied with a conclusion drawn from such premises, contend that the monastery always was an unfinished structure. In proof of this assertion, they urge that the cathedral and buildings connected with it bear evident marks of the style of different periods, and that these parts are consequently the production of different ages. This diversity of style, however, as easily accounted for by recurring to the known conduct of the founders of churches, and other ecclesiastical structures, who were accustomed to design a plan of considerable extent, to commence the building on the east side, and to finish a part sufficient for the performance of religious worship, and then to repose themselves, till leisure, or perhaps more flourishing finances, should favour the completion of



South wall

the original plan.* As it sometimes happened that these never arrived, the execution of their design, in its utmost extent, was frequently committed to the piety of their successors.

The style of architecture, in the different parts of the present cathedral, are well discriminated in the following account from the pen of Bishop Littleton, of the Society of Antiquarians. "The lower parts of the chapter-house walls, together with the door-way and columns at the entrance of the chapter-house, may be pronounced to be of the age of Stephen, or rather prior to his reign, being fine Saxon architecture. The inside walls of the chapter-house have round ornamental arches, intersecting each other like those in St. Nicholas chancel, Warwick, which was part of the old Saxon nunnery church. The cathedral appears to be the same style of building throughout, and in no part older than Edward the First's time, though some writers suppose the present fabric was begun in King Stephen's time; but not a single arch, pillar, or window, agrees with the mode which prevailed at that time. The great gateway leading into the College-Green is round-arched, with mouldings richly ornamented in the Saxon taste."† From this account it appears probable that the chapter-house and the arched gateway, are all the present remains of the ancient monastery; the extent of which it may be difficult to ascertain, though it is certain that the extent was considerable, probably equal to that which is assigned to it by conjecture and tradition.

It is a well established fact, that the church of the monastery was entirely rebuilt in the commencement of the fourteenth century; thus the conjecture

* Bentham's History of the Cathedral church of Ely. See also the valuable Treatise of Dr. Milner on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of England during the middle ages; and an excellent work entitled "Essays on Gothic Architecture," published by Taylor, and selected from the writings of Warton, Bentham, Grose, and Milner.

† From a manuscript in the library of the Society of Antiquarians, preserved by Mr. Barrett.

of Littleton that the style of the architecture was the same as that which prevailed in the time of Edward I. is confirmed by historical testimony. The rebuilding of the church was begun about the year 1311, as appears from a grant of the Bishop of Worcester, which appropriates the church of Wotton to the members of the monastery as a remuneration for the expence they had incurred in rebuilding their church. Abbot Knowles, who died in 1332, has obtained the honour of being a very active promoter of the plan of rebuilding the church; and Maurice the fourth of that name, lord of Berkeley, was distinguished by his liberal contributions towards carrying the plan into execution, which was completed in 1363. If it be supposed that the duration of this period appears more appropriate for the completion of the original plan of the monastery than the erection of the church, it will follow that the monastery of St. Augustine continued an imperfect structure till the latter end of the reign of Edward III.

William of Worcester mentions an *old* church, eighty steps in length, among the dimensions he has given of the monastery. It has before been remarked that his survey was taken in 1480; if therefore it be imagined that the church, which is now the cathedral, was begun by Abbot Knowles, and finished by Maurice Lord Berkeley in the preceding century, this old church probably constituted a part of the monastery, and perhaps was situated to the west of the present cathedral.

The following are the dimensions Worcester has given of this structure. "The choir is in length sixty-four steps, and the breadth including the side aisles is fifty. The house of the friars is twenty-six steps long and sixteen broad. The *old church* is eighty steps in length, and sixty-four in breadth. The chapter-house is fifty-six steps by sixteen."* He subjoins to these the dimensions of the chapel

* Itin. de Wor. page 233 and 289.



University Cathedral and College, Bonn

of St. Mary, being thirteen yards by nine and a half, the entrance to which is from the south aisle. This chapel is now used as a vestry for the use of the members of the choir. It was built by one of the family of Berkeley, and is sometimes denominated the chapel of the Berkeleys; at present there are no appearances of any tombs in this chapel, and that it ever contained any is by no means certain.

In addition to the endowment of Fitzharding and his descendants of the family of Berkeley, the monastery of St. Augustine received very liberal benefactions from several other illustrious characters, and in particular from Henry II. The partiality of this monarch for Bristol, no doubt arose from the association of its different scenes, with his earliest and purest pleasures. It is probable that those dedicated to the monastery, were the favorite haunts of the future monarch, and the recollection of scenes where his "careless childhood strayed" unoppressed by the cares of greatness, prompted the execution of the charter of privileges and benefactions, which he granted to the monastery of St. Augustine, while Duke of Normandy and Earl of Anjou. In this charter he expresses the pleasure he had received from his early youth in promoting the interest of the monastery, by affording it his protection and enriching it by his benefactions. This charter was afterwards confirmed by John, and some additional privileges and benefactions were conferred upon the monastery by that monarch. These charters and all preceding charters and grants were afterwards confirmed by a charter from Edward II. Among the other benefactions to the monastery are few, which would now excite any degree of interest if given in detail, and the extent of them may be easily ascertained from the revenues of the monastery at the period of the dissolution.

College-Green appears to have been the place of burial belonging to the monastery of St. Augustine, and to the House of the Gaunts, now the Mayor's chapel. This burying-ground was originally of considerable extent. It is described

by Worcester as bounded on one side “ by a lane, called Frog-lane, and containing in this direction from the monastery two hundred and forty steps. Its greatest length was three hundred and sixty steps, and from the Gaunts’ House to the monastery, it contained one hundred and eighty steps.”* Like church-yards and other consecrated ground in popish countries, this was a sanctuary; and when the reputed sanctity of these places inspired the ruthless soldier with compassion, or bade the greedy sword of carnage spare a prostrate victim, they were not destitute of their use, because they evidently had a tendency to mingle mercy with the ferocious barbarism of the age: but if they multiplied crimes by providing a facility of avoiding punishment, they were unquestionably evils of the first magnitude; since there can be little doubt that cases exist in which the infliction of justice upon a violator of the laws, is an act of mercy to the community.†

The cathedral of Bristol contains several tombs erected to the memory of different individuals of the noble family of Berkeley. These were generally great benefactors to the establishment, and on this account are entitled to notice in the history of the monastery of St. Augustine; and moreover, biographic sketches of these, will be peculiarly acceptable to those who are accustomed to visit the tombs of the great, that they might justly appreciate the value of hereditary honours.

Robert Lord of Berkeley, son of Maurice, and grandson of Fitzharding, the founder of the monastery, is buried in the south aisle of the cathedral in the habit of an ecclesiastic; to which, from the superstition of the times, he considered were attached the splendid rewards of peculiar sanctity. This nobleman was a liberal benefactor to the monastery, and also built an hospital at Brightbow in Bedminster, dedicated to St. Catherine; even the ruins of which have long since been removed. He distinguished himself in the ever memorable struggle between the barons and

* Itin. de Wor. page 188.

† Dum sceleratis parcunt, bonos omnes perditum eunt.—SALLUST.

their sovereign, which terminated in the signature of Magna Charta. Lord Berkeley is also said to have advised the invitation of Lewis, the son of the French king, and thus, by listening to the dictates of a narrow and misguided policy, incurred the hazard of exchanging a native tyrant, for a foreign despot. Lord Robert Berkeley died in 1220, in the reign of Henry III. Thomas, his brother, succeeded to his honours and fortunes. Of him the historians of the monastery have recorded several benefactions to the establishment, and they consequently celebrate his piety and benevolence in the highest strains of panegyric. In addition to his benefactions to the monastery, he evinced the benevolence of his disposition by increasing the endowments of St. Catherine's hospital, which his brother Lord Robert had founded at Brightbow, in Bedminster. Some part of his conduct, concerning which historians have been silent, gave offence to the pusillanimous Henry III. and it was therefore intimated to him to be the royal pleasure that he should enter into the service of the Knights Templars ; in which service he died in honourable exile, but was buried in the south aisle of the monastery church of St. Augustine.

A second Maurice was the successor to the hereditary honours of the house of Berkeley. Of his talent in the cabinet or ability in the field history is altogether silent. He was buried in the north aisle of the monastery church, and left the merits of his ancestors to preserve his name from oblivion.

To his son and successor Thomas, nature appears to have been more indulgent, and history more liberal. Fame reports that his military talents were of the first rank, and he is said to have sustained a principal part, in the martial achievements of the heroic reign of the first Edward. After an illustrious career of splendid exploits, he was taken prisoner at the battle of Bannoch Burrough. He died in the 76th year of his age, and was buried in the south aisle of the monastery church in 1321.

At the entrance to the south aisle of the cathedral is a small chapel, built by Maurice, the sixth of this name, Lord of Berkeley. This chapel is denominated the chapel of the lady, to distinguish it from the chapel on the north, containing the tomb of Fitzharding, which is denominated the chapel of the elder lady. The chapel of the lady was intended to be the burial place of its founder, but he died at Calais, and was buried there in 1523.

The last of this family who was buried in the monastery church was Thomas, the fifth of that name, Lord of Berkeley, brother and heir to Maurice the founder of the lady's chapel. Of the biography of this nobleman no circumstances have been recorded to excite, or gratify curiosity. It is said that he was first buried in the parish church of Mangotsfield, and afterwards removed in order to be interred in the grave of Lord Maurice, who has before been mentioned for his liberal contributions towards rebuilding the church of the monastery. He was buried under the arch between the south aisle and the chapel of the elder lady. The tomb of Fitzharding is erected over this grave, but Fitzharding is said to be buried nearly under the organ at the entrance to the choir. His grave-stone, however, is nearly opposite the stone pulpit adjoining the pew erected for the use of the corporation.

The abbey of St. Augustine amply endowed by the liberality of these several members of this ancient family, thus privileged by the charters of monarchs, and enriched by the liberal benefactions of the noble and the wealthy, was justly entitled to rank among the richest abbeys in the kingdom. The whole establishment originally consisted of an abbot, a prior, sub-prior, and fourteen friars, or canons regular, professing the rule of St. Augustine of the order of St. Victor. This at least was the number in 1353, but it is probable that the number admitted of variation, and that it was increased or diminished in proportion to the comparative wealth of the monastery.

The internal history of this, as of other monasteries, presents a record of petty contentions, not only disgraceful to the professors of a religion the spirit of which is truly pacific, but dishonourable to humanity. At the successive visitations of the several Bishops of Worcester, within whose diocese the monastery of St. Augustine, and the other religious structures of Bristol were originally included, it was generally found necessary to adopt several regulations, for the correction of the various disorders in the monastery. When the new laws had removed the ancient evils, these were succeeded by others, in some degree different, but all of which candour would bid us hope had their origin in that species of depravity, which has its seat in the head, rather than the heart. It must be acknowledged that the source of most of these evils, existed in the nature of these establishments, which contained no objects to rouse the generous feelings, or to exercise the benevolent or amiable affections, and in which the most exalted virtue was little more than sordid selfishness.

This abbey enjoyed a succession of twenty-five abbots, of whom the first was Richard ; who was instituted in this dignity in 1148. Of the biography of this ecclesiastic no particulars are recorded, and therefore all that remains to be told of him is, that he governed the abbey of St. Augustine thirty-eight years.

Of the abbots the following are the few who have any claim to historic notice ; the names of the others with the dates of their institution may be seen in the note.* John Snow, elected abbot in 1332, was the first president of this

* *Abbots of St. Augustine.*—Richard, 1148. Philip, 1186. John, 1196. Joseph, or John, 1215. David, 1216. William de Bradestone, 1234. William Long, a monk of Kainsham, 1242. Richard de Malmsbury, 1264. John de Marina, 1276. Hugh of Dedington, 1287. James Barry, 1294. Edmund Knowles, or de Knolle, 1306. John Snow, 1332. Ralph Asch, 1341. William Cook, 1353 ; the cross with a skull over it, near the door of the cathedral, covers the grave of this abbot, who died in 1366. Henry Shellingford, 1366. John Cerny, 1388. John Daubeney, 1393. Walter Newbury, 1428. William Hunt, 1463. John Newland, 1481. Robert Elliot, 1515. John Somerset, 1526. William Burton, 1534. Morgan Guillian, 1537. The monastery was dissolved in 1539.

abbey summoned to attend a parliament. In the same year as that of his election, he was present at a parliament holden at Westminster, in the reign of Edward III. and died on the 12th of July, 1341. His successor Ralph Asch, in the genuine spirit of the legislators of his age, petitioned to be excused from the necessity of attending parliament, because it was productive of intolerable burdens to the revenues of the house, over which he presided. His petition was granted in 1341. Petitions similar to this were by no means uncommon in the early periods of the history of parliaments. The sum allowed to the knights and representatives appeared to some boroughs so considerable, that representation was complained of as a grievance rather than desired as a privilege; and it is somewhat remarkable that from 33d Edward III. uniformly through the five succeeding reigns, the sheriff of Lancashire returned, that the county was incapable of sending representatives to parliament “*propter eorum debilitatem et paupertatem*,”* or in consequence of their weakness and indigence.

In 1481 John Newland was advanced to the dignity of abbot of St. Augustine. He is sometimes styled Abbot Nail-heart, probably from his arms or rather crest, which was a heart pierced. This abbot was considered by his contemporaries as a prodigy for his intellectual ability and extensive acquisitions: and according to the custom of the age in which he flourished, when all the learning of the times was engrossed by ecclesiastics, this abbot was frequently employed by Henry VII. in a diplomatic character. His skill as a politician is said to have given perfect satisfaction to his royal master; for historians record of him that he uniformly conducted the several negociations, with which he was entrusted, to a prosperous issue. Of his talents as a man of letters he left a specimen, in the history of the monastery over which he presided, in which production are also included memoirs of the family of Berkeley. This history

* The form of the return made by the sheriff is given by Christian in his notes to Blackstone. “*Sunt aliquæ civitates, seu burgi infra commitatum Lancastriæ, de quibus aliqui cives, vel burgenses ad dictum parliamentum venire debent, seu solent; nec possunt propter eorum debilitatem et paupertatem.*” Blackstone, Vol. I.

is said, by Mr. Barrett, to be still extant among the archives of Berkeley castle.* Having governed the abbey with distinguished reputation during the period of thirty-four years, Abbot Newland died in 1515.†

This abbot and his successor Richard Elliot have been highly panegyrised by the members of the monastery for their pious care in repairing and beautifying the building. From the merit of good actions it is always ungenerous to detract, and unbecoming in an historian to insinuate the possibility of motives unworthy the transactions it is his province to record. It can, however, be no disparagement to the memory of these abbots to suppose, that they acted with some reference to that immortality, which is conferred by posthumous fame, and lived as in the view of future generations. As a confirmation of this conjecture it may be observed, that the cathedral still retains the initials R. E. in several places, and that the statues of the abbots Newland and Elliot, are among those which still adorn the abbey gateway.”‡

The last abbot§ of St. Augustine was Morgan Guiliam, who was instituted in the dignity in 1537. Two years afterwards he surrendered the monastery, with its wealth and revenues, to the persons authorized for this purpose by Henry VIII. He obtained for himself a pension of eighty pounds per annum, and an annual allowance of between seven and eight pounds for the monks, who chose to continue in the observance of their monastic vows.

The memory of this abbot has been loaded with charges of the grossest immoralities. Fuller and Speed represent him as keeping no less than six concu-

* Barrett's History, p. 268.

† Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. I.

‡ These statues are on the south side, together with a virgin and child ; the other on this side, is unknown. On the north side are Henry II. and Fitzharding ; the other figures are now unknown.

§ Willis's History of Abbies, vol. I.

lines. These, however, and similar representations of the manners of the monks of this period, ought to be received with great caution; since it is an indubitable fact, that their immoralities were highly exaggerated, that the policy which had determined to abolish monasteries, for the express purpose of enriching itself with their wealth and revenues, might derive some sanction from the vices of ecclesiastics.

In 1539, by statute of Henry VIII. the abbey of St. Augustine, as well as the other abbeys of the kingdom, became the property of the crown. The annual revenue of this abbey at the period of the dissolution, is stated by Dugdale to have amounted to £670. 13s. 11*d.* and by Speed to have been £767. 15s. 3*d.* The medium of these sums is £719. 4s. 7*d.* which was probably the amount of its annual income, at the period it ceased to exist as a monastery.

It has already been stated as probable, that at the time of which we are writing, the monastery extended from the tower, which is supposed to have been the centre of the building, to the abbey gate-way. The west part of the edifice is supposed to have been destroyed for the sake of the lead, and the other materials of which it was composed; and it is probable that the remaining part would have been consigned to destruction, for similar reasons, if this had not been prevented by an order from the king to erect this dissolved monastery into a bishopric. This order was issued in 1543, and the monastery church was fixed upon for the cathedral. The establishment was to consist of a bishop, a dean, six prebends, six minor canons, a deacon, a sub-deacon, a præcentor, six choristers, and an organist. Such was the number when the establishment was constituted a bishop's see; nor is it recorded that the number has been subsequently altered, either by regal or ecclesiastical authority.

The mutilations which the cathedral of Bristol has undergone, are not entirely

to be referred to the era of the dissolution of monasteries, since this structure suffered very considerably during the period of the civil commotions. The ruthless soldiers discovered their barbarism by violating the sacred tombs of the dead, and by offering every indignity, which they supposed would be considered a profanation of the places, which the piety of their ancestors had consecrated to religion. It is said that they uncovered the palace of the bishop for the sake of the lead on its roof; and that their inhumanity proceeded so far as to lay open the very room in which the bishop's lady was confined in child-bed. Such a lamentable tendency has the violence of civil factions to render the mind insensible to every finer feeling, and stop up every avenue to sensibility.

The palace after the expulsion of the bishop is said to have[•] been converted into a malt-house, and to have been used as such for several years. The estates of the bishopric were sold, and the funds produced from their sale, were appropriated to the supply of the exigencies of revolutionary finances.*

From this review of the principal events in the history of the monastery of St. Augustine, and of remarkable circumstances, connected with Bristol cathedral, we shall proceed to a description of it in its present state, including an account of those monuments and inscriptions most worthy of notice, which record the names or the virtues of those, who are here consigned to the graves of their fathers. To a mind properly tuned for solemn feeling, few gratifications will bear a comparison with the sensations, excited by the contemplation of these mournful memorials of affection to departed worth. The levity which disregards these scenes, and the false sensibility which turns from them, are equally unworthy the mingled feelings

* The amount of this sale was £8390 7s. 9½d. The most curious entry is "The Gate-house, in Bristol, sold March 6th, 1649, to John Birch, for £18. 13s. 4d." A small part of the land then sold, and included in the above amount, belonged to the bishopric of Gloucester.

of sympathetic regret, awe, and veneration, with which they seldom fail to inspire the soul of sensibility.

The descent from the College-Green to the transept, or great cross-aisle of the cathedral, is by eight steps. On the left are steps conducting to the elder lady's chapel, in which is the tomb of Fitzharding, the founder of the monastery, the inscription on which has been already transcribed.* Between the steps of this chapel and the entrance, a cross and skull cover the grave of abbot Cook, who died in 1366.

On the right against the west wall are several elegant monuments, of which the first peculiarly worthy of notice, is one raised to the memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Draper, the Eliza of Sterne. Its form is that of a pointed or gothic arch, within which are two figures, which may be pronounced to be good specimens of the productions of genius in this department of art, for they are in the best manner of their artist Bacon, and will be a lasting testimony of his ability. The figure on the left represents Genius, that on the right Benevolence, which points to the following inscription upon the pedestal.

Sacred
to the memory
of
Mrs. ELIZABETH DRAPER,
in whom
Genius and Benevolence
were united;
She died
August 3d, 1788,
Aged 35.

In addition to Mrs. Draper's, several monuments against the west wall deserve observation for their general simplicity of design, and neatness of execution. Many of their inscriptions should be transferred to these pages, but for a fear of exceeding the limits proposed for this work ; since it is presumed that few could be read without emotion by feeling minds, as testimonies of superior excellence, of private worth, or of conjugal affection.

On one of the columns on the right of the extremity of the centre aisle, but facing the transept, an elegant, and much admired monument has been recently erected, to the memory of Anthony Augustus Henderson. The following description of this monument, and translation of its inscriptions, are by the *late* Anthony Henderson, Esq. M. P. who died soon after its erection.*

“The upper compartment of the monument represents a parent kneeling at the tomb of his son. On the tomb is a Latin inscription, in English as follows :

Sacred to the Memory of
A. A. Henderson,
A most amiable Youth,
A most affectionate Son.

The countenance of the parent is intended to express pious resignation, under the severe affliction of the death of his son, which he derives from that passage of the Gospel of St. John, (the Greek version of which he holds in his hand, and is supposed to have been reading) where Christ says, “The dead that are in their

* “When I meet with the grief of parents upon a tomb-stone, my heart melts with compassion : when I see the tomb of the parents themselves, I consider the vanity of grieving for those whom we must quickly follow.”—ADDISON.

graves shall hear my voice, and shall come forth, *they that have done Good unto the Resurrection of Life.*" The words in italics are inscribed in the Greek language.

On the tablet in the compartment below is a Latin inscription which, in English is, in substance, as follows :

In a Grave close to the Altar of this Cathedral
The mortal part of Anthony Augustus,
Son of Anthony Henderson, Esq. M. P.
And Sophia his Wife, is deposited ;
That his Immortal Part now lives in Heaven
Is the firm belief of his Parents.

He died in the year of our Lord 1807, in the 17th year of his age.

He was free from vice, of great fortitude, and exceedingly attached to his Parents ;

He was distinguished for his understanding, gentleness of manners, modesty, and kindness.

What limit can there be to grief for the loss of so dear a Son ?

The hope which religion affords, that they may also be counted worthy,

Through the Grace of an almighty and merciful God,

To be numbered hereafter amongst the blessed in Heaven,

There to enjoy for ever the company of their Son,

Is to his Parents the sweet soother of their sorrows.

In the original these inscriptions ran thus. On the tomb at which the parent kneels :

^I ANT. ^I AUG.
HENDERSON
^S JUVEN. ^E MAX.
DILECTI,
FILII
PIISSIMI.
S. M.

On the tablet in the compartment:

In sepulchro apud altare hujusce ecclesiæ,
 Quicquid fuit mortale Antonii Augusti
 filii Antonii Henderson Arm. ord. Senat.
 Et Sopiæ conjugis depositum est ;
 Quicquid vero immortale in cœlis vigere
 Persuasissimum est suis.
 Obiit Anno Domini MDCCCVII:
 Ætatis suæ, XVII.
 Sceleris erat purus, animi fortis, parentum studiosissimus
 Ingenio, morum suavitate, pudore, et benignitate eximius.
 Desiderio tam cari filii quis sit modus ?
 Spes illa, religione nata, se quoque dignos haberi
 DEI OPTIMI MAXIMI gratia
 Inter cœlicolas tandem numerari beatos,
 Filiiq; necessitudine in æternum frui
 Parentibus doloris dulce lenimen.

Near the termination of the transept an elegant mural monument is erected to the memory of Catharine, wife of James Vernon, Jun. of Lincoln's Inn, Esq. who died June 3d, 1794, aged 19. The inscription is marked by peculiar felicity of expression, as well as elegance of sentiment, and on these accounts deserves to be transcribed :

Formed by Nature
 To attract observation and to invite respect,
 Lovely in her person, graceful in her manners,
 Amiable in her disposition,
 Happy to receive pleasure, and more happy to impart it ;
 Every one was conscious of her merits
 But herself ;
 The disease to which she fell a victim

Added lustre to the virtues of her mind ;
 And the submissive piety which prepared her way
 To Heaven
 Taught the duty of resignation
 To her afflicted husband.

The approach to the side aisles from the transept excites an impression of peculiar grandeur, produced by the loftiness of the roof. This is said to be the only cathedral in the kingdom, of which the centre and side aisles are of equal height.

On a pillar at the entrance of the south aisle a mural monument bears an elegant Latin inscription, of which the following is a translation :

JACOB ELTON,
 The second son of Abraham Elton, Bart.
 From his earliest years
 He was trained to nautical science and practice ;
 And even while a youth obtained the honourable rank
 Of Captain in the British Navy.
 Before he had completed the thirty-second year of his age,
 He fell
 In a naval engagement against the French,
 On the 29th of March, 1745.
 His death was premature indeed for his country,
 But for himself, glorious.
 To the suavity of his manners—his friends,
 To his genial and active benevolence—his sailors,
 To his magnanimous intrepidity—his death,
 Bear the most ample testimony.
 His disconsolate widow,
 Caroline, daughter and co-heiress of Charles Yate, Esq.
 Of Coulthroe, in the County of Gloucester,
 Caused this monument to be erected,
 As a trifling tribute of unchangeable affection.

In the original thus :—

JACOB ELTON,
 Filius natu secundus Abrahami Elton, Bart.
 Rebus nauticis
 A tenera ætate assuetus,
 Et in classe Britannica, etiamnum Adolescens
 Navarcha ;
 Anno tricesimo secundo nondum peracto,
 Dum contra Gallos
 Prælio navali dimicasset,
 Properatâ quidem
 Sed pulcherrimâ morte
 Occubvit
 Die Martii 29no. A.D. 1745.
 Qualis erat morum suavitas, Amici,
 Quæ Humanitas et Benevolentia, nautæ
 Quam intrepide et fortiter se gessit
 Ille Dies
 Satis superque testatur.
 Leve hoc Amoris sui et desiderii monumentum
 Vidua mæstissima
 Carolina Filia et cohæres Caroli Yate
 De Coulthroe in agro Glocestriæ
 Poni curavit.

Under this monument is a flat stone bearing an inscription, which will be read with peculiar interest by every admirer of the letters of the amiable Cowper :

Dame Harriet Hesketh,
 Eldest daughter of
 Ashley Cowper, Esq.
 Clerk of the Parliaments,

Widow of
 Sir Thomas Hesketh, Bart.
 Of Rufford Hall, in Lancashire.
 Born July, 1733,
 Died 15th January, 1807.

The chapel on the right at the entrance to the south aisle, is denominated the chapel of our Lady, and was erected by Maurice, the sixth of that name Lord of Berkeley.* This chapel contains three ancient tombs, on one of which is the following inscription: “In memory of Sir Richard Newton Cradock, of Barr’s Court, in the county of Gloucester, one of his Majesty’s Justices of the Common Pleas, who died December the 13th, 1444; and with his lady lies interred beneath this monument, which was defaced by the civil wars, and repaired by Mrs. Archer, sister to the late Sir Michael Newton, of Barr’s Court, 1748.”

On a handsome tomb of alabaster and freestone against the south wall of the chapel is this inscription: “Here lies Sir Henry Newton, of Barr’s Court, in the county of Gloucester, Kt. who married Katharine, the daughter of Sir Thomas Paston, of Norfolk, Kt. by whom he had two sons and four daughters; and when he had lived seventy years religiously towards God, loyally towards his prince, and virtuously towards men, ended his life in the year of grace, 1599.”

Over the other tomb in the chapel are two tablets bearing the following inscriptions:

First Tablet.

Here lyeth the body of Sir John
 Newton, Bart. son of Sir Theodore
 Newton, Kt. and his Lady Grace,
 daughter of — Stone, Esq. who
 died without issue 1661.

Second Tablet.

He was a man of great courage and
 the greatest loyalty to his prince, an
 honour to his country, a credit and
 noble ornament to his name
 and family.

Near the tomb of Lord Thomas Berkeley, the first of that name, in this aisle, is an elegant tribute of paternal affection, which it would be unjust to omit. It is inscribed to the memory of Henry Robinson, Esq. who died September 5th, 1791; and Margaret Robinson, who died October 23d, 1790.

Not far distant from hence
 Are deposited the remains
 Of a beloved brother and sister.
 This little stone
 Is erected by their surviving brother,
 Not as an eulogy of *their* virtues,
 But to direct the stranger to that spot
 Where every virtue
 Lies concealed.

At a little distance from this tablet, a neat mural monument is consecrated to the memory of the Rev. Samuel Love, A. M. Fellow of Baliol College, Oxford, and one of the minor canons of this cathedral, who died October 18th, 1773, aged 29. He is represented to have possessed considerable talents, which were joined to great moral worth and unaffected piety. The lines upon his monument are from the pen of Mrs. H. More, and are entitled to high commendation for their simplicity and genuine pathos.

When worthless grandeur decks the embellish'd urn,
 No poignant grief attends the sable bier,
 But when distinguished excellence we mourn,
 Deep is the sorrow, genuine the tear.

Stranger ! shouldst thou approach this awful shrine,
 The merits of the honour'd dead to seek,
 The friend, the son, the christian, the divine,
 Let those who knew him, those who lov'd him, speak.

Oh ! let them in some pause from anguish, say,
 What zeal inspir'd, what faith enlarg'd his breast,
 How soon th' unfetter'd spirit wing'd its way
 From Earth to Heaven, from blessing to be blest.

This monument is erected
 by some intimate friends of the deccas'd
 as a testimony
 of *his* worth and *their* esteem.

Opposite is a neatly executed monument sacred to the memory of Joshua Berkeley, D.D. dean of Tuam, who died at the Hotwells, on the 21st of June, 1807.

The choir is mostly occupied by the remains of bishops of the diocese. Near the entrance from the south aisle, three flat stones cover the graves of bishops Connybeare, Butler, and Bradshaw: the second grave from the entrance being consecrated by the ashes of Dr. Butler.

In the north wall adjoining the altar are the tombs of abbots Knowles and Newbery. The most ancient of these is that nearest the altar, which is erected in an arch over the grave of abbot Knowles, who died in 1332; and may with great probability, be regarded as the builder of the present cathedral. Below is the tomb of abbot Newbery, who died in 1463, and opposite is a similar tomb to the memory of abbot Newland, who died in 1515.

These monuments, consisting of a statue placed horizontally in the habit of the deceased, seem to have been the next advancement of monumental architecture, from the plain tomb in the form of a stone coffin without any inscription. The history, indeed, of this species of architecture, appears to be as incomplete as the practice is imperfect. It is certainly desirable that monuments should harmonize with the surrounding structure, and possess the properties, either of parts or appendages. In this view the tablet seems the least imperfect; but when monuments assume the appearance of independent and rival productions of architecture, they produce only a transient effect; because their little splendour soon vanishes in the contemplation of the majestic grandeur of the surrounding fabric.

In the south wall near the altar is a splendid monument for the period in which it was erected, to the memory of Sir John Young, Knight, and dame Joan his wife. She died in 1603.

In the chancel was buried Nathaniel Forster, D. D. a name peculiarly dear to piety and sacred literature. His edition of the Hebrew Bible, divested of the massoretic points, which have so long disfigured the sacred text, will be a lasting monument of critical ability and learned investigation, as well as highly honourable to the literary character of his native country. He was born at Stadscombe, in the parish of Plimstock, Devonshire, of which his father was the minister, in the year 1717. Soon after his birth his father removed to Plymouth, where he initiated his son in the rudiments of a grammatical education, and afterwards sent him to the public grammar school in that town. Young Forster made a rapid progress both under the instructions of his father, and in the seminary into which he was transplanted, of which he became head scholar before he was thirteen years old. In 1713-4 he was removed to Eton, and at the same time entered at Pembroke college, Oxford. His time was chiefly spent at college, in a close application to his studies; by which he deservedly acquired a high character for very considerable

erudition, and great critical acumen, possessing a knowledge of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, equal to that of any man of his time. His earliest friend was Dr. Secker, then bishop of Oxford, by whom he was introduced to Dr. Butler at that time bishop of Bristol, to whom he became private chaplain. Dr. Butler at his death left him a legacy of 200*l.* and appointed him executor to his will. In the year 1745 he was promoted to a prebendal stall in the cathedral of Bristol; and before the expiration of the same year was presented by archbishop Secker, to the valuable vicarage of Rochdale, in Lancashire. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society in 1755, made one of the chaplains to his Majesty in 1756, and appointed preacher at the Roll's chapel in 1757. In the year last mentioned he married a lady of great merit, and possessed of a considerable fortune; on which occasion he fixed his residence in Craig's-court, Westminster. He died in that situation, after a short illness, before the end of 1757, in the 41st year of his age. In 1749 he published "A Dissertation upon the account supposed to have been given of Jesus Christ by Josephus; being an attempt to shew that this celebrated passage, some slight corrections only excepted, may reasonably be esteemed genuine." This production is allowed to be ingenious by Mr. Bryant, who has undertaken to defend the passage as it stands; and by bishop Warburton it is pronounced the best piece of criticism, which the age has produced."*

In the north aisle are several monuments which deserve attention, not merely for their general style of execution, but also for their inscriptions, which have been admired for an elegance purely classical. Entering this aisle from the choir, and passing an ancient tomb on the right to the memory of Bishop Bush, who died in 1558, a superb mural monument claims immediate notice, bearing a Latin inscription, of which the following is a translation:

* Dr. Aikin's General Biography.

Under this monument is interred
 THOMAS COSTER, Esq.
 Who was equally illustrious
 For his private as for his public virtues :
 In friendship he was firm and affectionate,
 And eminently distinguished by an active benevolence towards man,
 And an ardent piety towards God.
 His genius was displayed
 In the acquisition of various sciences,
 But in those of mechanics and metallurgy
 He peculiarly excelled.
 He obtained wealth by industry,
 And honour by unsullied integrity :
 Being advanced, without ambition or envy, to the dignity of Representative
 Of the citizens of Bristol in Parliament,
 He discharged his duty with undeviating fidelity
 For the mutual advantage of his constituents,
 And the Empire.
 He was born on the 20th of December, 1684,
 And died on the 30th of September, 1739,
 Deeply lamented and unfeignedly regretted
 By all to whom he was known,
 Particularly by her, who in gratitude
 To the best of parents,
 Caused this monument to be erected,
 That the memory of his eminent virtues might be lasting,
 To excite the emulation and secure the happiness
 Of the most distant posterity.

In the original the inscription run thus :

I. S. E.
 Thomas Coster, Armiger,
 Virtutibus tum privatis

Tum publicis præter cæteros insignis ;
 Suos studio et amore,
 Homines quoscunque benevolentia
 Deum O. M. egregia pietate
 Prosequebatur :
 Ad variam scientiam
 In machinamentis præcipue et metallis
 Perspicaci ingenio.
 Ad opes industria
 Ad honorem probis moribus
 Viam munivit.
 A. Bristoliensibus
 Ad Senatorii ordinis dignitatem
 Sine ambitione, sine invidia erectus
 Eandem summa fide sustinuit
 Suorum civium et totius reipublicæ bono.
 Natus Decembris 20, 1684.
 Sept. 30, 1739, morte luctuosa abreptus ;
 Omnibus quibus innotuit,
 Sui desiderium reliquit,
 Illi vero longe tristissimum
 Quæ optimi patris memor
 Virtutum ejus (quarum exemplar ut
 Posteris quam diutissime prodesset)
 Memoria n, hoc marmore posito,
 Æternam voluit.*
 I. II.

The following inscription will be read with peculiar feelings as a family record of celibacy and comparative longevity :

* It may not, perhaps, be improper to remark that the painted glass window above this monument, is said to have been presented to the cathedral by Nell Gwyn, and was, probably, designed as an expiation for immorality.

Near this place
Are deposited the remains of
Three respectable Sisters,
Daughters of the Rev. James Harcourt, D.D.
Prebendary of this cathedral.
Anna Harcourt, who died May 4th, 1792, aged 72.
Florence Harcourt, who died April 19th, 1794, aged 73.
Sarah Harcourt, who died June 9th, 1801, aged 73.
This tablet
Is gratefully dedicated
To their memory,
By their surviving relations
And successors.
1801.

Opposite this tablet is a stately monument of an ancient style to the memory of Sir Charles Vaughan, who died in 1630. The inscription is in Latin, but contains no information of interest, or instruction of importance.

Near this is a mural tablet bearing the following inscription :

In memory of her renowned ancestors, Richard Towgood, S. T. B. Dean of this church, the grandfather, and Elizabeth his wife; Richard Towgood, M. A. prebendary, the father, and Elizabeth his wife. Mrs. Elizabeth Towgood, the daughter and last of this family, caused this monument to be erected, who having inherited the virtues of her forefathers, and exhibited the same illustrious pattern of unaffected piety, undissembled charity, and unsullied integrity, to the 77th year of her age, followed them to the mansion of eternal rest, January 24th, 1767.

Richard Towgood is buried in the north aisle, and from the Latin inscription to his memory we learn, that by the violence of civil faction he was thrown into prison; but, that at the restoration of monarchy he was reinstated in his ecclesiastical promotions. He reached the advanced age of 89, and died in 1683.

Next the tablet inscribed with the names of Towgood is an elegant monument to the memory of William Powell, Esq. one of the patentees of the Theatre-Royal, Covent Garden, who died 3d of July, 1769, aged 33 years. His widow caused this monument to be erected, as well to perpetuate his memory, as her own irretrievable loss of the best of husbands. The following lines are the production of G. Colman, Esq.

Bristol! to worth and genius ever just,
 To thee our Powell's dear remains we trust :
 Soft as the streams thy sacred springs impart,
 The milk of human kindness warmed his heart ;
 That heart, which every tender feeling knew,
 The soil, where pity, love, and friendship grew :
 Oh ! let a faithful friend with grief sincere
 Inscribe his tomb, and drop the heartfelt tear.
 Here rest his praise, here found his noblest fame,
 All else a bubble, or an empty name.

Opposite are the incomparable lines of the author of *Elfrida*. Their acknowledged excellence has procured them a notoriety, which might preclude the necessity of a transcription, if the obtrusive idea were not repulsed by the reflection, that these lines contain beauties which no repetition can exhaust.* The monument is inscribed to Mary, the daughter of William Shermon, of Kingston-upon-Hull, Esq. and wife of the Rev. William Mason, who died March 24, 1767, aged 28.

Take, holy Earth ! all that my soul holds dear :
 Take that best gift, which Heav'n so lately gave :
 To Bristol's fount I bore with trembling care
 Her faded form : she bowed to taste the wave

* *Decies repetita placebit.*

And died. Does Youth, does Beauty, read the line?
 Does sympathetic fear their breasts alarm?
 Speak, dead Maria! breathe a strain divine:
 Ev'n from the grave thou shalt have power to charm.
 Bid them be chaste, be innocent like thee;
 Bid them in Duty's sphere as meekly move;
 And if so fair, from vanity as free,
 As firm in friendship, and as fond in love.
 Tell them, though 'tis an awful thing to die,
 ('Twas ev'n to thee) yet the dread path once trod,
 Heav'n lifts its everlasting portals high,
 And bids "the Pure in heart behold their God."

These are the principal inscriptions of the monuments in Bristol Cathedral, with which a fond desire to confer immortality upon the memory of excellence long beheld with pleasure, or contemplated with veneration, has marked the mouldering urn and the perishing tablet. Monumental inscriptions, however, are not destitute of the most important uses. In addition to their affording a gratification to some of the best feelings of the human heart, by prompting it to discover its affection to departed worth; these inscriptions are among the best tests of the literary character of a nation, and possess a greater degree of influence than is generally supposed, over the national morals. These impressive memorials of mortality not only teach "the moralist to die," but have a tendency to awaken his emulation to acquire the virtues delineated upon the sepulchral tablet. They elevate the drooping spirits of the mourner from the contemplation of the various ills to which humanity is subject, and fix his better hopes upon heaven and immortality.

The bishopric of Bristol is the least wealthy ecclesiastical promotion which confers the dignity of a mitre. Its revenue is generally stated to amount to no more than five or six hundred pounds per annum. In consequence of this comparative indigence, the bishop of Bristol usually holds some valuable benefice in

addition to the bishopric, or this see is conferred as a preliminary to an ecclesiastical promotion of equal dignity, with more ample revenues.

The bishopric of Bristol was formed from those of Salisbury, Worcester, and Wells. The county and archdeaconry of Dorset were separated from the bishopric of Salisbury, and conferred upon the bishop of Bristol; to these were united several parishes from Gloucestershire, in addition to those of the city of Bristol, which anciently appertained to the diocese of Worcester, and one from the bishopric of Wells. Dr. Heylin states that the number of parishes subject to the jurisdiction of Bristol was 236, of which 64 were impropriated. The number has, perhaps, increased since Dr. Heylin's account was published, and now, probably, amounts to 256, including chapels: of which 221 are in the county and archdeaconry of Dorset, 18 in the county of Gloucester, 16 in the city of Bristol, and one in the county of Somerset.*

* The following notice was printed in the Bristol newspapers the 26th July, 1777 :

The Lord Bishop of Bristol will confirm (if it shall please God) all who shall be presented to him, or recommended by separate certificates of their friends, by their respective ministers, after morning service at the cathedral on the following days, viz. Those of the parishes of

St. Augustine	B	St. George	G	Littleton	G
All Saints'	B	St. Philip	B	Mangotsfield	G
Christ Church	B	St. Mary Redcliff	B	Olveston	G
Clifton	G	Stapleton	G	Stoke Gifford	G
St. Leonard	B	Temple	B	Winterbourn	G
St. Nicholas	B	St. Thomas	B	<i>On Saturday Aug. 9th.</i>	
St. Peter	B	<i>On Thursday Aug. 17th.</i>		To these are now to be added,	
St. Stephen	B	Abbots Leigh	S	St. Paul	B
<i>On Monday August 4th.</i>		Almondsbury	G	St. Ewin's church was consolidated with Christ church.—The church of St. Leonard was taken down in 1772. See p. 88, 89.	
St. Ewin	B	Aust	G	N. B. Those parishes marked	
St. James	B	Alveston	G	B—are in Bristol.	
St. John	B	Compton Greenfield	G	G—in Gloucestershire	
St. Mary-Port	B	Elberton	G	S—in Somersetshire.	
St. Michael	B	Filton	G		
St. Werburgh	B	Henbury	G		
Westbury	G	Horfield	G		
<i>On Tuesday Aug. 5th.</i>					

The bishopric was very considerably impoverished with regard to its revenues, in the reign of Elizabeth. The see was vacant during the term of thirty-two years, and this circumstance necessarily occasioned, not only a neglect of its revenues, but presented them an easy prey to the avarice of the courtiers. In addition to this cause of diminution, it appears that some of the early bishops were so completely under the influence of selfish principles, that they hesitated not to alienate the estates of the bishopric, and thus to enrich themselves at the expense of their successors.

To prevent this conduct in future bishops, and to preserve the revenues of bishoprics from every species of encumbrance, they are prohibited by a provisional order issued in the tenth year of the reign of Charles I. from granting the estates upon lives which are not already so granted, and all leases are ordered to be limited to the term of twenty-one years.* This regulation not only tends to preserve the ecclesiastical revenues from diminution, but also provides for their advance in some proportion to the increasing exigences of the times.

Paul Bush was the first bishop of Bristol:† he was a native of Somersetshire, last rector or provincial of the Bonnes Hommes at Edington, in Wilts, and chaplain

* Atkin's History of Gloucestershire.

† The other bishops are, John Holyman, 1554. Richard Cheyney, B. D. 1561. John Bullingham, D.D. 1581. Richard Fletcher, 1583. John Thornborough, 1603. Nicholas Felton, 1617. Rowland Searchfield, 1619. Robert Wright, 1622. George Cook, 1632. Robert Skinner, 1636. Thomas Westfield, 1641. Thomas Howell, 1645. Gilbert Ironside, 1660. Guy Charlton, 1671. Wm. Goulson, 1678. John Lake, 1684. Jonathan Trelawney, 1685. Gilbert Ironside, 1689. John Hall, 1691. John Robinson, 1710. George Smalridge, 1714. Hugh Boulter, 1719. William Bradshaw, 1724. Charles Cecil, 1733. Thomas Secker, 1734. Thomas Gooch, D. D. 1737. Joseph Butler, 1738. John Conybeare, 1751. John Hume, D. D. 1756. Philip Young, 1758. Thomas Newton, 1761. Lewis Bagot, 1782. Christopher Wilson, 1783. Spencer Madan, 1792. Hen. Reg. Courtney, 1794. Fol. Her. Wal. Cornwall, 1797. George Pelham, 1803. John Luxmore, 1807. Wm. Lort Mansel, 1808.

to Henry VIII. This bishop was appointed by letters patent on the 4th of June, in 1542. His name has been the object of a reproach, perhaps justly incurred, for alienating the manor of Leigh, which was considered one of the richest parts of the endowment of the bishopric. On the accession of Mary, fearing ecclesiastical censures for having violated his vow of celibacy, he resigned his bishopric, and retired to live in obscurity on the rectory of Winterbourn. To this bishop the cathedral is indebted for the erection of the stalls of the choir and the episcopal throne. He died October 11th, 1558, in the 68th year of his age, and was buried in the cathedral on the north side of the altar at the entrance to the north aisle. Bishop Bush is said to have possessed some skill in physic, and to have written upon the subject of medicine.*

Richard Fletcher was the fifth in succession from bishop Bush, and was appointed bishop of Bristol in 1583. He is said by Harrington to have taken this see on condition of leasing out its estates to courtiers, which he did so extravagantly that he considerably impoverished the revenues of the bishopric.† Bishop Fletcher was appointed to attend the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots on the scaffold, and with an impertinence of zeal, which can never be too much reprobated, disturbed the dying moments of an unhappy queen, by intrusive solicitations to change her system of religious belief. In the latter part of his life he became the victim of chagrin and discontent, in consequence of having lost the favour of Elizabeth, and died on the 15th of June, 1596. He had been translated to the bishopric of London, and was buried in St. Paul's.

Of the ancestors of bishop Fletcher, whether they were of noble or plebeian origin, little is known and less desired to be remembered.‡ To ancestry the

* Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. I.

† Harrington's View of the State of the Church.

‡ It may deserve remark that Giles Fletcher, ambassador to the court of Muscovy in 1588, was brother to

world, from various causes, must attach importance ; but an enlarged view of the circumstances which form the character, should induce it to ascribe honour to an individual from the talents and virtues of his descendants, in the production of which he might have been a cause, rather than from those of his ancestors, which, so far as regards himself, are purely the result of accident. To this honour bishop Fletcher has considerable claims, and when his political conduct, and ecclesiastical dignities are lost together in oblivion, he will be entitled to remembrance as the father of the celebrated dramatist, the colleague of Beaumont. It is remarkable that Fletcher was born ten years before Beaumont, in 1576, and survived him an equal number of years. Fletcher fell a victim to the plague, in the full maturity of his powers, in 1625.*

Thomas Westfield was promoted to the bishopric in 1641. The revenues of the see were detained from him in the tumults of the civil war;† but his learning, piety, and ability at length procured him respect even from the enemies of episcopacy, and by a committee of the parliament, he was reinstated in the temporalities of his prelacy. He enjoyed these only during a short period, as he died in 1644, and was buried in the cathedral. Bishop Westfield had acquired great reputation as an eloquent and persuasive preacher.

The successor of bishop Westfield was Thomas Howell, who was nominated by the king in 1644, and consecrated in 1645. Bishop Howell enjoyed his promotion only one year, and died in 1646. He was buried in the cathedral under a plain stone bearing this one word, “ serving both for his epitaph and elegy,”

the bishop of Bristol.—“ Giles Fletcher was the author of a book, intitled “ *Of the Russe Commonwealth, or Manner of Government, by the Russe Emperor ; with the Manners and Fashions of the People of that Country.*” This scarce and curious book was, for certain political reasons, immediately suppressed ; but it was reprinted in 1643, in 12mo. It was also inserted, though somewhat abbreviated, in Hakluyt's *Voyages.*”—*Memorabilia Cantabrigiæ*, page 109.

* *Biographia Dramatica*. Vol. I. article Beaumont.

+ Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*.

EXPERGISCAR, "I shall arise." After his death the see was vacant during the period of fourteen years.

John Lake, sometime bishop of Bristol, is distinguished in the history of the reign of James II. as one of the seven bishops who were committed to the Tower, for presenting a petition to his majesty, against publishing in the several churches of their respective dioceses, the king's declaration for granting liberty of conscience. He had been previously translated to the bishopric of Chichester, of which he was deprived on the accession of William III. for refusing the oaths of allegiance, and supremacy to that monarch. In this resolution he persevered till his death, and expressed his approbation of his conduct in his last moments. Bishop Lake died in August, 1689.

His successor in the bishopric of Bristol was Jonathan Trelawney, particularly entitled to historical notice, for the activity of his exertions in the ever-memorable revolution of 1688. Sir John Dalrymple* has preserved a letter from this prelate to the illustrious William III. which we have particular pleasure in presenting to our readers.

"May it please your Highness,

"I received the great honour of your Highness's letter, and beg leave to return you my most humble thanks for those kind opinions you have been pleased to conceive of me, which I shall endeavour still to preserve.

"My Lord Shrewsbury (with whose conduct we are all extremely pleased) will give you a full account of what hath been done here, which if your Highness shall approve of, it will be great satisfaction to me, that I have borne some part in the work which your Highness has undertaken with the hazard of your life, for the preservation of the protestant religion, the laws, and the liberties of this kingdom.

"I desire Almighty God to preserve you as the means of continuing to us the exercise of our holy religion, and our laws, and humbly beseech your Highness to believe me very ready to promote so good a work, and on all occasions to approve myself your Highness'

"Most obedient, faithful, humble Servant,

Bristol, Dec. 1, 1688.

"J. BRISTOL."

Trelawney was consecrated bishop of Bristol in 1685, was translated to Exeter in 1689, chosen bishop of Winchester in 1707, and closed his career of virtuous and active exertion on the 19th of July, in 1721.

In the course of his ecclesiastical career, Thomas Secker, LL. D. afterwards primate of all England, filled the see of Bristol from the year 1734 to 1737, in which year he was translated to Oxford, thence to London, and some time after removed to the arch-episcopal palace at Lambeth.

Joseph Butler, LL. D. was elected bishop of Bristol on the 6th of November, 1738, and consecrated on the 3d of December, in the same year. Dr. Butler was born in 1692, at Wantage, in Berkshire, at which place his father was a respectable shopkeeper, and in his religious principles a dissenter. Butler's early fondness for divinity induced his father to consider him as destined for its profession, and thus to cherish that attachment, which finally fixed his determination. He acquired a knowledge of the classics in the grammar school at Wantage, and afterwards removed for the prosecution of his studies to a dissenting academy, kept first at Gloucester, and afterwards at Tewksbury, by Mr. Jones, who though a dissenter, has the merit of having given the church two of her brightest ornaments in Secker and in Butler.

During his residence at Tewksbury, Dr. Butler engaged in an enquiry into the grounds of non-conformity, and the result of his inquiries was a determination to join the established church. His father at first endeavoured to divert him from his purpose, but finding him resolved, he wisely permitted him to remove to Oxford, where he was admitted a commoner of Oriel college in 1714. At college he formed a friendship with Mr. Edward Talbot, second son of bishop Talbot, which laid the foundation of his future preferment in the church. He had taken orders soon after his admission at Oxford, and in 1718 he was

appointed preacher to the Rolls chapel. While he filled this office he published a volume of sermons, which raised him to a high degree of reputation, as an acute and solid reasoner.

About the year 1726, Dr. Talbot, then bishop of Durham, presented Dr. Butler with the very valuable living of Stanhope, on which he resided in complete retirement for seven years. During this period, it is probable, he made considerable progress in his great work, entitled "The Analogy of Religion, natural and revealed, to the Constitution and course of Nature," which he published in 1736. In the same year he had been appointed clerk of the closet to Queen Caroline, and so much was her majesty pleased with Dr. Butler's conversation, that he was ordered to attend upon her two hours every evening, and from her powerful recommendation of him to the king, he was raised to the episcopal bench in 1738, by promotion to the see of Bristol. To this preferment was added in 1740, the deanery of St. Paul's. He now resigned his living of Stanhope, and devoted himself to his new duties. He displayed great munificence in his improvements of the episcopal palace at Bristol, on which he expended a greater sum than the revenues of the see amounted to, during the time he held it.* In 1750 Dr. Butler was

* In the repairs of the bishop's palace, Dr. Butler expended nearly 5000 pounds. In the course of these repairs in 1744, while the workmen were employed in one of the rooms, some plate fell through the floor, which by this accident was found to be so decayed that it was necessary to remove it. When the floor was removed an apartment was discovered under the room, in which were many human bones, and several instruments of iron, supposed to have been instruments of torture. Upon minute examination, an arched passage was discovered in the thickness of the wall, which communicated with this supposed dungeon and an apartment of the palace, which had, probably, been employed as a court for trying those, who were accused of irregularity, or suspected of heresy. Thus, when bigotry had attached an undue importance to speculative opinions, and the civil authority had armed it with power, the dungeon, the rack, and the scaffold were the arguments it uniformly employed to prove the genuineness of its pretensions to infallibility. But this period has passed, and even statesmen have at last learned, that persecution is as impolitic, as it is unjust.

translated to the rich see of Durham, but he enjoyed this splendid situation only a short time; for he fell into a declining state of health, and died at Bath, in June 1752. He was buried in Bristol cathedral, under the second stone at the entrance to the choir from the south aisle; and his high character for profound reasoning, for unaffected piety, and for genuine benevolence, will endear his memory, and preserve his reputation to a distant posterity.

Dr. Butler was succeeded in the Bishopric of Bristol by John Conybeare, D. D. in 1750. He enjoyed his preferment only five years, and died in July 1755. He was buried in the cathedral in a grave adjoining that of bishop Butler, and a neat marble monument has been erected to his memory, near the altar.

The literary character of Dr. Conybeare is well sustained by four volumes of sermons, which were published after his death, but which have procured for him a distinguishing reputation, as a man of genius, a scholar, and a divine.

Thomas Newton, D. D. the celebrated author of the deservedly admired dissertations on the prophecies, was created bishop of Bristol in December, 1761. He was born at Litchfield, in 1703, and educated in the grammar school of that city under Mr. Hunter, a teacher of considerable reputation. In 1717 he was sent to Westminster school, and entered the University of Cambridge with a high character for ability and application, in the twentieth year of his age. His earliest friends were bishop Chandler and Dr. Pearce, afterwards bishop of Rochester, but he obtained no preferment in the church till 1744, when he was presented with the rectory of Mary-le-Bow, in Cheapside, by the interest of the Earl of Bath. During the rebellion of 1745 he published two sermons on that occasion, one of which had been preached before the House of Commons. In 1749 Dr. Newton appeared before the public as an editor of Milton, with con-

siderable reputation ; and in 1761 presented the world with his great work on the "Prophecies." The same year he was advanced to the episcopal bench by promotion to the see of Bristol. In 1764 he was offered the primacy of Ireland, but declined the proposal, and continued bishop of Bristol till his death, which happened on the 15th of February in 1782, and on the 28th of the same month he was buried in St. Paul's, London.

The Right Rev. Father in God William Lort Mansel is the present bishop of Bristol, and was consecrated in 1808.

The exact annual value of the estates held by the dean and chapter of Bristol cannot be precisely ascertained, in consequence of their fluctuation, arising from the renewal of leases, and from other causes. It is, however, generally supposed that the deanery usually produces from 500 to 600 pounds per annum, and that each prebendary might receive from 200 to 250; but the revenue of these preferments will always be liable to variation from the causes which have been already stated. The deanery of Bristol is in the patronage of the crown, and is neither charged with tenths nor first fruits.

Among the deans, one of the most illustrious names is that of William Warburton, D. D. afterwards bishop of Gloucester, and in many respects one of the most extraordinary men of the age in which he lived. He was born in Cheshire in 1698, and in the 19th year of his age was articled to an eminent attorney of Great Markham, in Nottinghamshire. The law, however, was not the profession of Warburton's choice, and seems to have been but little in unison with his genius and his inclination; it therefore can excite no surprise that he determined to relinquish it. He took orders in 1723, and in 1728 was presented by Sir Robert Sutton to the rectory of Branch Broughton, in the diocese of Lincoln. In this

retirement he wrote the *Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated*, the *Commentary on Pope's Essay on Man*, and some other minor works, which procured for their author while living, fame, friendship, and patronage, and which, if implicit reliance may be placed upon the assertion of Bishop Hurd, will secure for Doctor Warburton an immortality of reputation.

Warburton was made dean of Bristol in 1757, and in 1760 was advanced to the mitre, by the illustrious Chatham. He enjoyed his preferment as bishop of Gloucester nineteen years, and died at the advanced age of eighty one, on the seventh of June in 1779. He was says Doctor Johnson, a man of vigorous faculties, of a mind fervid and vehement, with a wonderful extent and variety of knowledge, which had neither depressed his imagination, nor clouded his perspicuity; and to every work he brought a mind full fraught, with a fancy fertile of original combinations, exerting at once the powers of the scholar, the reasoner, and the wit.*

The mansion designed for the residence of the deans of Bristol, was anciently denominated the Dove-house; and was very considerably repaired by dean Creswick, in 1734, and nearly rebuilt by Warburton in 1758.

In addition to the revenues of the bishopric, which are to be appropriated to the respective members of the Cathedral, the statutes of the foundation appoint, that twenty pounds per annum shall be given to poor house-holders, and that an equal sum shall be annually expended in the repair of the highways. These circumstances are stated, not on account of the magnitude of the sums assigned to these purposes, but for the importance of their object. It is thus, that the external

* Life of Pope.

exercises of religion, and the exertions of active benevolence should be inseparable. For to lessen the mass of human infelicity, or to increase the sum of human happiness by the activity of beneficence, is to co-operate with the Divinity, and is, beyond all comparison, the most acceptable service which can be offered to the Deity.

CHAPTER THE FOURTH.

CONTENTS.

History of the Church of St. Augustine the Less, its Monuments and Inscriptions—Biographic Notices of Eminent Persons connected with its History—Of St. Mark's or the Mayor's Chapel—Of St. Stephen's—St. Werburgh's—All Saints—Christ Church—Mary Le Port—and St. Nicholas.

CHAPTER THE FOURTH.

FROM the history and description of the Cathedral, a transition to similar accounts of the other ecclesiastical structures of the city, is essential to the completion of the History of Bristol. In pursuing this plan, however, the limits assigned to our work compel us to be as concise as possible ; we shall therefore principally confine ourselves to such circumstances, as either from their interest or their novelty, seem peculiarly entitled to attention.

The Church of St. Augustine the Less was originally erected by the abbots of the monastery, for the better accommodation of such inhabitants, as had removed beyond the ancient boundaries of the city, but who were still without the precincts of the convent. It would seem therefore that a church, or chapel, occupied the spot upon which St. Augustine's is erected, at a very early period in the history of Bristol ; but the exact date of its erection has not been preserved, though it is certain that a church or chapel existed here as early as the year 1240.*

The present church was erected according to William of Worcester in the year 1480.† It has however been considerably enlarged in subsequent periods,

* It is mentioned at this period in an ancient deed relative to the Gaunt's House, now the Mayor's Chapel.

† Itin. de Wor. Page 229.

and particularly at its eastern extremity. Galleries have also been added to its sides, and it is now considered capable of containing such inhabitants of the parish, as are members of the established church, notwithstanding the population of that part of the city has increased, in a peculiarly rapid progression, within the last twenty or thirty years.

In the history of this church, are no circumstances particularly worthy of record, but it may perhaps be gratifying to curiosity to mention, that the organ was presented to it by Henry Cruger esq. member for Bristol, with Burke in 1774; and again with Matthew Brickdale esq. in 1784.

St Augustine's Church is a plain structure, characterised rather by neatness than by elegance or beauty. The architecture of this fabric is that of the pointed style; but it is a specimen of that art almost in its lowest state of declension, and by no means marked with the altitude, and peculiar beauty, which are the characteristics of that species of architecture in its perfection; such as it is exhibited in those interesting specimens of it, which still remain to attest the magnificent piety of our ancestors, and their exquisite taste, as well as their accurate perception of the sublime and beautiful in architecture.*

Among the monuments in this church are few, which from being connected with the memory of individuals, [particularly eminent either for their talents or their virtues, would excite a general or a permanent interest. That near the altar

* It is scarcely necessary to remark, that the perfect specimens of this style referred to in the text, are Salisbury Cathedral and Westminster Abbey; but it is just to add, that the student or the admirer of our ecclesiastical architecture will find a short but interesting history of the rise, progress, and declension of the pointed style in architecture, with the characteristics of its respective periods illustrated by engravings, appended to the second volume of Sir R. C. Hoare's *Giraldus Cambrensis*.

inscribed to the memory of Sir William Daines, Knight, possesses perhaps the most claims to notice ; but the inscription which should have transmitted to posterity, his honours, his exploits, and his virtues, is already become illegible. Sir William was representative of Bristol in several parliaments, first in 1701, and last in 1715.

In the south aisle are two tablets, of which the simplicity of the design, and the neatness of the execution, first arrest the attention ; but independently of these, the inscriptions themselves deserve to be transcribed. That nearest the vestry is dedicated

To the memory
of
Henry King
Of Alvestone, in the county of Gloucester, gent :
His industry, prudence and ability,
were rewarded
With competence and esteem,
And his integrity
With a self approving conscience,
And an unsullied reputation.
He died December the 2nd 1792,
Aged 77

The other tablet bears a name, which every one who has frequented the cathedral, has probably read inscribed on many of its monuments, to designate their artist. But " Poets must fall like those they sung," and the name of him who perpetuated the names of others, is here, in its turn, consigned to the monumental marble :

Sacred
 to the Memory of
 W. PATTY, Esq.
 of this City,
 Architect,
 Who died Dec. 11th, 1800,
 Aged 43 years.
 This monument is erected as a small
 but sincere tribute of affection,
 by his widow and children,
 who will
 never cease deeply to
 lament their loss.

At the extremity of the north aisle under the organ gallery, is a simply elegant tablet, bearing the following impressive inscription :

In memory of Fanny
 the daughter of William and Francis Overend,
 Born 3d June, 1786 ; Died 3d May 1802.
 The graceful loveliness of her person,
 the attractive sweetness of her disposition,
 and the early culture of her understanding,
 promised a character
 of no common excellence ;
 but heaven saw fit
 to remove her from a state of trial
 to one of enjoyment,
 at the early age
 of fifteen.

To these inscriptions we shall add one of peculiar interest from the church-yard, on a tomb near to that entrance which is opposite to the river. Time

has already commenced the work of dilapidation on the tomb; we shall be happy if we can rescue the inscription from oblivion:

SACRED
to the memories
of INGLEBY DRAPER, Esq.
And MARY his wife
the parents of SIR WILLIAM DRAPER,
Knight of the Bath.
The father was snatch'd away
in the flower of his age.
He died May 3rd, 1721,
in his 27th year.
The mother surviving him, lived
full of Days, Honour, and Virtue
unto her 74th year,
When she was called hence
Sept. 6th, 1764.

Nearly opposite to the Cathedral is the Mayor's Chapel, or the collegiate church of St. Mark. This is a small fabric, but interesting in its history, and entitled to attention for the ancient monuments which still remain, particularly in its small, or side aisle, and in the chancel.

This church was dedicated to the blessed Virgin Mary, and St. Mark, and was erected by Maurice de Gaunt, probably about the year 1229. It originally belonged to the hospital of the Gaunts, which was founded for the maintenance of a chaplain, and the relief of one hundred poor every day.* At its foundation, this establishment was placed almost entirely under the direction of the canons of St. Augustine's monastery; but Robert de Gourney, nephew and heir to its

* Maurice's charter of foundation is said to be still extant among the registers at Wells.

founder, made it a distinct house, for the maintenance of a master, three chaplains, and the relief of a hundred poor daily.* The master of this hospital is sometimes denominated a prior, as the establishment itself is called by Leland a priory of the order of St. Austin.† The modern church of St. Mark appears to have been the chapel of the Gaunt's hospital.

The founders of this church and hospital, were of an ancient and noble family, and were distinguished in the respective ages in which they flourished, equally by their munificence, and for their extensive possessions. Maurice de Gaunt died about the year 1230. Besides the benefactions of Robert de Gourney to the hospital of Gaunts, he was the founder of a nunnery at Barrow Gourney, in Somersetshire. He appears to have resided in Bristol, since he is mentioned by Leland together with Fitzharding, the founder of St. Augustine's monastery, "As having a fair house in Portchester, and another in Bristow town; and that Sir Henry Gaunte was a knight sometime dwelling not far from Brandon-Hill, by Bristow."‡ Robert de Gourney died in 1269. Henry de Gaunt, mentioned by Leland, was probably brother to Robert de Gourney, and was master, or prior, of the hospital of the Gaunts till 1268. Sir Henry was buried in the church of St. Mark, in which a tomb supporting his statue at full length yet exists, in the small or side aisle, and if it escape the rude hand of violence, still promises to preserve his memory to a distant period.

The history of the hospital of the Gaunts, like that of most establishments of a similar nature, contains little to instruct or to amuse, and, if exhibited in detail, it would only excite pity or contempt. Its revenues at the period of the dissolution amounted, according to Dugdale, to £112 9s. 9d. per annum, and

* *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Vol. II. p. 455.

† *Leland's Collec.* Vol. I. p. 85.

‡ *Leland's Itin.* Vol. VII. p. 70.

according to Speed, to one hundred and forty pounds, of the money of the times. It was granted at the dissolution to the mayor, burgesses, and commonalty of Bristol, for public uses, and the present grammar-school, which was originally Queen Elizabeth's hospital, is erected upon the space, upon which the hospital of the Gaunts formerly stood.* College-Green was also the burying-ground to the church of St. Mark, as well as to the monastery of St. Augustine.†

St. Mark's church consists of two aisles, a principal and a small or side aisle, of which the principal aisle was converted into a chapel for the mayor and body corporate in 1722, at which period "it was repaired and beautified‡ at the charge of the chamber." Before this alteration it was used as a chapel by such French protestants, as had sought an asylum in Bristol, from the impolitic persecutions of their native princes.

Previously to describing the monuments in the mayor's chapel, which seem particularly worthy of notice, it deserves to be recorded, that near the door at the entrance from the College-Green, was buried in 1680, the infamous Captain William Bedloe, the coadjutor of the equally infamous Titus Oates. He is said to have died insolvent, and to have been buried by charity; and no inscription marks

* A Collegiate church called Gaunts, from its founder Sir Henry Gaunt, knight, who quitting the affairs of this world, here dedicated himself to God; now by the munificence of T. Carr, a wealthy citizen, it is converted into a hospital for orphans." CAMDEN'S BRITANNIA, Gibson's Translation.

† Orchard street derives its name from occupying the space, which was originally the orchard of the Gaunt's hospital.

‡ The author cannot forbear entering his most decided protest against, what is called, the beautifying of our churches. He has never witnessed, without indignation, the havoc occasioned by it among the sacred memorials of the dead, many of which he has seen defaced and destroyed by a barbarous rage for beautifying the fabric, after they had withstood the attacks of time for ages. In repairing churches the object should be to restore the parts decayed or dilapidated as much as possible to their original state, but to preserve the inscriptions, and other memorials of our fathers, with all that scrupulous care, which is due to the most sacred deposit.

the spot, in which were deposited the remains of a wretch, whose name deserves to be consigned to universal execration, as associated with the worst of crimes.

In the small or side aisle are a few monuments of considerable interest, and consequently entitled to notice. Besides the tomb of Sir Henry de Gaunt, already mentioned, there are two tombs at the eastern extremity of the aisle, which support statues at full length, of two knights cross-legged, as marks of their having participated in the crusades, armed in mail except their faces, with their right hands resting on the hilts of their swords, and on their left arms their shields. It is highly probable that these tombs cover the remains of some of the family of the Gournays, or their relatives the Berkeleys; but they contain no inscriptions, and tradition has not preserved the names of those, to whose memories they were consecrated.

In the same aisle is an altar tomb, bearing neither statue nor inscription; but simply marked with the initials J. C. or T. C. This monument covers the ashes of — Carr, a man whose unbounded benevolence, under the direction of a superior judgment, prompted him to erect a more lasting monument to his name, by his active exertions in the founding, and endowing of the city-school. To this establishment Carr was a liberal contributor, and the benefits derived from this munificence amply entitle him to the gratitude of his fellow-citizens, and cannot fail to embalm his memory. Neither the date of his birth, nor that of his death, has been preserved; but it is certain that he flourished about the year 1580.*

In the same aisle was buried Patrick Keir, M. D. a man of letters, and eminent in his profession, but more particularly entitled to notice for having

* His will is dated April 10th, 1586.

distinguished himself as an author, by a short treatise on the properties of the Bristol waters.*

The chapel itself, or the principal aisle of St. Mark's church, also contains several monuments, many of them bearing the names of individuals distinguished by titles and elevated in rank. To the genealogist, therefore, and to the student or the lover of heraldry, most of these tombs would be particularly interesting; but, independently of these objects, few of the monuments in this aisle are distinguished by any peculiarities which entitle them to a description, or contain inscriptions, which for their interest or elegance, deserve to be transcribed. Among these few may be noticed an ancient monument near the chancel to the memory of William Bird, Esq. who was sheriff of Bristol, in 1573, and mayor in 1589, but deserving remembrance more than for either, for his liberal benefactions towards the endowing of Queen Elizabeth's hospital, now the City-school, for the securing of which interesting object, Mr. Bird made the princely donation of five hundred pounds. He died in 1590. The inscription on his tomb is in latin verse, of which the four concluding lines deserve to be transcribed, not only for the sentiments they contain, but also for the language in which they are expressed ;

“ Vix dedit hisce virum Bristollia nostra diebus
 Consimilem, seu virtutem, seu cætera spectes.
 Gratus erat patriæ civis, jucundus amicis,
 Progeniemque suam multâ cum laude reliquit.”

In the period in which he flourished, Bristol scarcely produced his equal

* The inscription on Dr. Keir's tomb is preserved by Mr. Barret; but as the author has not been able to find any stone inscribed with his name, it has probably been defaced or removed by some comparatively recent improvement.

either in virtue or ability. He was honoured by his country, beloved by his friends ; and at his decease, bequeathed to his posterity an untarnished reputation.”*

In addition to this monument several ancient tombs in the chancel on each side of the altar deserve attention. The first on the left, near the steps, was erected about the year 1361, to the memory of Sir Thomas de Berkeley and Catharine his lady, daughter of John Lord Bottetourte, and bears their statues in the rude sculpture of the times. Next to this is a tomb bearing a statue, arrayed in the pontifical habit, consecrated to the memory of Miles Salley, abbot of Einsham, and afterwards bishop of Landaff, who died in 1516. Opposite to these are several monuments, of which the most interesting are a stately monument, with a statue, to the memory of Thomas James, mayor, and representative of Bristol, who died in 1615, and another with two statues kneeling designed to preserve the names of Thomas Aldworth, and his son John, both eminent merchants of their time. The father died in 1598, and the son in 1615. This family was particularly distinguished by its spirit of enterprize in the colonization of Newfoundland, and by its commercial transactions with that country in the infant state of the colony.†

Of the churches in Bristol few are superior in the beauty of their external appearance to that of St Stephen, which has always received a high degree of

* This monument is now concealed by the pews, and as the inscription can be read only with great difficulty we shall transcribe the whole :

Gulielmus Birde, obiit Octobris 8, A.D. 1590.

Clarus, prædices, sapiens, et pro grege Christi

Sollicitus, sedem et victum cultumque ministrans

Dormit in hoc tumulo, sed spiritus æthera scandit :

Vix dedit, &c. &c.

† Hackluit's voyages.

A View of
CLARE STREET with the DRAW BRIDGE.
Revised.



admiration for the peculiar elegance of its tower. The history, however, of this structure is incomplete, for the time in which it was erected has not been ascertained, but it is certain that it existed as early as 1304. At this period it belonged to the abbots of Glastonbury, and therefore it has been conjectured, with great probability, that some of their predecessors in that dignity were its founders.

William of Worcester mentions this church, and has been particularly minute in recording the dimensions of its several parts.* Camden, after noticing some of the other churches of Bristol, thus introduces St. Stephen's. "Nor must we omit taking notice of St. Stephen's church, the stately tower whereof, was, in the memory of our grandfathers, built by one Shipward, a citizen and merchant, with great charge and curious workmanship."† This tower was erected about the year 1470. Of the man to whom we are indebted for this elegant specimen of taste in architecture, little more is known than that it was John Shipward, who was the contemporary and probably the friend of Canynge, that he was a merchant of the first respectability in the age in which he flourished, that he was a liberal benefactor to the indigent while he lived, and that at his death he bequeathed large estates, to charitable purposes. He died in 1473,‡ and was buried in the church of St. Stephen; and though no tomb marks the spot, or is inscribed with his name, yet his memory shall be as durable as the fabric with which it is associated, and shall thus be transmitted to a distant posterity with respect and veneration.

* Itin. de Wor. p. p. 120. 235. 282.

† Gibson's translation of the Britannia, page 74. Ed. 1695.

‡ The great east window was formerly of painted glass and under the effigies of two persons was inscribed "Orate pro animabus Johannis Shipward et Catharinæ uxoris ejus, qui Johannes istam fenestram fecit, et fuit specialis benefactor hujus ecclesiæ." "Pray for the repose of the souls of John Shipward and his wife Catherine. He erected this window and was an especial benefactor to this church." Shipward was several times mayor of B-i-tol, and its representative in two parliaments of Henry VI.

At the period of the dissolution, this church is said to have contained several chauntries, or charitable foundations, for defraying the expenses of celebrating mass for the repose of the souls of their respective founders. Of these, four have been ascertained, two of them were founded by Richard White, one by Edward Blanket, and the other by Thomas Belcher. Edward Blanket was representative for Bristol in 1362. There were three of this family, Edward, Edmund, and Thomas; they all appear to have been distinguished among their contemporaries, for their enterprize and spirit as manufacturers, at a period when Bristol was considered as much a manufacturing, as a seaport town. They are said to have been the first who manufactured that article which still preserves, and will probably perpetuate the name of BLANKET.

Among the monuments in this church, the most interesting is that to the memory of Sir George Snigge, Knt. which is situated at the eastern extremity of the south aisle. Sir George was recorder of Bristol from 1592 till 1604. He was serjeant at law, and one of the barons of the exchequer. He is celebrated as a man of great patriotism and of great integrity, and preserved a high character during a long life for his ability and integrity as a judge. He died in 1617, in the 73d year of his age.

In the same aisle of this church, over the vestry door, is a brass tablet dedicated to the memory of Robert Kitchen, who died in 1594. He deserves to be noticed as a benefactor to Bristol his native city. At his death, among other bequests for its benefit he left 400*l.* in trust to the corporation to be lent to young tradesmen for a limited time free of interest.

On the north wall near the altar, is a curious monument inscribed "To the pious memory of Martin Pringe, sometime general to the East Indies, and one of the fraternity of the Trinity-House, who died in 1626, in the 46th year of his age.

In the south aisle near the door, is a monument inscribed with a name of peculiar interest, and therefore deserving of notice. The inscription runs thus —

Near this place are deposited,
in the Family Vault, the remains
of DAVID PELOQUIN, Esq. Alderman,
eldest son of STEPHEN PELOQUIN,
of this City, Merchant ;
He changed this life for a better,
the 21st March, 1766, aged 66 years.
This monument was erected,
by MARY ANN PELOQUIN,
His only surviving Sister.

Among the rectors of St. Stephen's church is found the name of Alexander Stopford Catcott, afterwards vicar of Temple, and author of a treatise on the Deluge. He is represented to have been a profound scholar, and particularly to have excelled in Hebrew literature. He was succeeded in the rectory of St. Stephen's by Josiah Tucker, D. D. afterwards dean of Gloucester ; whose superior talents and various productions upon subjects in religion and politics, entitle him to a place among the most eminent men of his age, and will transmit his name to posterity with peculiar respect.

The patronage of St. Stephen's is vested in the crown, and the presentation to the living is granted by the Lord Chancellor.

The church of St. Werburga or Werburg, situated in Corn-street, was nearly rebuilt in 1761. Its patron saint is said to have been a daughter of Wulferus, king of Mercia, and to have presided over a nunnery at Trickingham, in Staffordshire, till the time of her death, which event is said to have happened in 683

The ancient church of St. Werburga was probably erected about 1185; but the tower was not built till nearly two hundred years after this period, or about 1385. This church,* together with that of Mary Le Port, was given to the abbey of the Black Canons, at Keynsham,† by the illustrious Robert Earl of Gloucester.

In the subsequent history of the church of St. Werburga are few circumstances either of importance or of interest, and it only remains to be told, that within it are deposited the remains of that distinguished benefactor to his native city, Nicholas Thorne, the founder of the city Grammar School. From the Latin inscription on the brass tablet, which still bears his name at the extremity of the south aisle of this church,‡ we learn, that he was a merchant of considerable eminence, and of undeviating integrity; that every action of his life was prompted by benevolence and guided by virtue; and that he terminated a career, marked by honourable, because beneficent activity, unfeignedly and universally lamented in 1546, in the 50th year of his age. His reputation, however, shall be more extended,§ because his name shall be transmitted to a grateful posterity along with the illustrious few, who have contributed to the amelioration of the human race, by diffusing more widely the means of intellectual cultivation. It is thus that the benevolent intentions of the Author of Nature are accomplished. For while we are thus ransacking the repositories of the dead, to rescue from oblivion a few of the distinguished names,** which in the ages that are gone have

* The patronage of St. Werburga, like that of St. Stephen, is vested in the crown. The parish is small, and the rectory is valued in the King's Books at 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

† See Vol. II. p. 92. ‡ Near to Thorne's is a similar Tablet, but the inscription is no longer legible.

§ *Exiguum nobis vitæ curriculum natura circumscripsit, immensum gloriæ.* "Thus while nature has circumscribed the little boundary of our mortal existence, she has afforded ample space to acquire an immortality of reputation."

** *Pulchrum imprimis videtur, non pati occidere quibus æternitas debetur.* Plinii, lib. V. Epist. 8.

"It appears particularly praiseworthy not to suffer the names of those men to sink into oblivion, who deserve to live in the memory of future ages."

adorned our native city, it will serve to brighten the dark shades thrown from tombs, and heightened by sepulchres, to recollect that one of the objects of infinite benevolence in the creation of the world is the final perfection of the human race; and that death is an important means for the consummation of this object. "Death is beneficial to the species, because it weakens the empire of prejudice, and opens a path for the progress of intellect and of science. If the prejudices of the age are inveterate, death will soon sweep them with their subjects into the grave, and afford the next age a chance of being wiser. It is thus that death wages a constant war with ignorance; and thus is death the gradual, but sure reformer of all political and religious establishments.*

The church of All Saints is an ancient structure, and is one of the four churches which originally surrounded the high cross in the centre of the city. This circumstance proves it to be of great antiquity; but the period in which it was erected, and the name of the individual whose piety prompted him to become its founder, have both perished together. It is, however, still an interesting fabric, since it is connected with the history of the Kalendaries,† and will ever be associated with the recollection of their library: an establishment which certainly diffused a faint glimmering of intellectual illumination at the period when the torch of science was almost extinguished by the mists of superstition.

The church of All Saints' was early appropriated to the monastery of St. Augustine, and continued under its patronage till the period of the dissolution of monasteries; at which time the dean and chapter became its patrons, and have continued so to the present times‡. Of its vicars before the dissolution, the majority were members of the society of the Kalendaries, among whom Sir

* Ponderer, No 22, p. 125.

† See Vol. II. chap. 2.

‡ The dean and chapter of Bristol are also patrons of St. Augustine the Less.

Thomas Marshall and Sir John Gyllarde, deserves to be noticed as especial benefactors to the church and to the library. Sir Thomas Marshall was a Kalendary, and is distinguished among the benefactors to All Saints' church, by having erected a house near to it for the perpetual residence of its future vicars; he died on the 17th of June, in 1434. Sir John Gyllarde was prior of the Kalendaries. He erected a curious wainscot ceiling, over the north aisle of the church, the pannels of which were decorated with rude representations of different scenes in the passion of Christ. He evinced his attachment to the society of which he was prior, and his fondness for literature, by expending upwards of two hundred pounds upon its library. Sir John Gyllarde died 1451.

All Saints' church previously to the dissolution contained several altars.* at which were performed obiits, or funeral obsequies, for the repose of the departed spirits of their respective founders. As these services gratified at once the love of fame in the individual, and were in unison with the natural dictates of affection in the survivors, it cannot be surprising that establishments for their support should have been numerous, particularly when the national theology represented them as efficacious in securing, or in obtaining eternal felicity. If these institutions had been solely appropriated to the preserving of the memory of distinguished excellence, philosophy herself would have pronounced them sacred from the importance of their object; but when, like the altars in All Saints' church, they were inscribed to names undistinguished from their contemporaries, either by virtue or ability, they can only be regarded as the burthensome impositions of a puerile superstition.

Among the monuments in All Saints' church, by far the most interesting is

* These altars were particularly rich in their crucifixes both of gold and silver, of which the value was enhanced by their being adorned with rubies, and other precious stones. Upwards of 423 ounces of plate were taken from this church at the general pillage of religious houses.

that inscribed with the name of our distinguished philanthropist* Edward Colston. This monument, which may be pronounced elegant according to the prevailing style of erecting these memorials of departed worth or greatness, derives additional interest from bearing a statue of the philanthropist, executed by Rysbrack, and modelled from an original picture by Richardson. The artist has judiciously contrived a drapery for the figure, and yet he has arrayed it in that costume which was generally worn by the individual, whose resemblance it is designed to perpetuate. It is thus that the productions of the chisel may procure an augmentation of utility, and become authentic documents from which the future historian may accurately delineate the fugitive fashions of the ages that are gone.†

Of the other monuments, in this church none possess sufficient features of peculiarity either in themselves or in their subjects, to merit a minute description. A few are interesting from bearing the same name as the great Colston, particularly that consecrated by filial piety to the memory of his parents. But the proposed limits of our work compel us to be studious of brevity, and sometimes oblige us to sacrifice inclination to the necessity of its observance.

Christ church is a modern structure completed in 1788. It occupies the scite

* A regard to the injunction which direct us "not to sacrifice to heroes till after sunset;" and a respect for the unostentatious benevolence which widely diffuses happiness, but which retires from the fame this conduct merits and acquires, equally concur in preventing us from inscribing this page with the name of a cotemporary philanthropist, of whom our native city is justly proud, and who is supposed to expend upwards of 3000*l.* per ann. in acts of beneficence.—"Superest adhuc, et exornat ætatis nostræ gloriam, vir sæculorum memoria dignus, qui olim nominabitur, nunc intelligitur." Quint. lib. X. cap. 1. "There still survives to give additional lustre to the age, a man who will deserve the admiration of future times. At present his excellence is known, and posterity will be careful to acquire to itself honour by preserving his name."

† It is still customary to place a tuft of such flowers as the season furnishes in the bosom of Colston's statue every Sunday. A mark of respectful attention which is more eloquent in his praise than the most polished panegyric.

of an ancient fabric of the same name, but which was originally dedicated to the Holy Trinity. Leland records that, "in this church was originally kept the Kalendars, otherwise called the Gild, or fraternity of the clergy and commonalty of Bristol; but subsequently removed to All Saints'."*

In the history of old Christ church are few other circumstances of sufficient importance to merit narration. Its monuments have perished with the fabric to which they were entrusted; and the few inscriptions which Mr. Barrett has rescued from oblivion, by recording them in his history,† contain neither instruction nor interest sufficient to deserve a transcription.

The present Christ church‡ is certainly a neat, and is frequently denominated an elegant fabric. Its monuments are few; but those few are in the best taste, being either tablets, or in the form of cenotaphs. In these simple forms monuments best harmonize with the surrounding objects, and may constitute elegant appendages to the principal structure.

We have visited these monuments, but not frequently, and at the moment in which we are writing, that which most impresses our recollection is inscribed to the memory of John Townsend, an eminent surgeon, who, by skill in his profession, raised himself to fame and to fortune. His reputation was at its zenith when we were commencing the career of life, but it still lives in the remembrance of many of our fellow citizens; and we should have deemed ourselves ungenerous to merit, if we had not seized this opportunity of paying a trifling tribute to his memory. Townsend died in 1800, in the 70th year of his age.

* Leland's Itinerary, Vol. VII.

† Barrett's History of Bristol, p. 470.

‡ The patronage of this living was originally vested in the abbot and convent of Tewkesbury, but the members of the corporation are its present patrons. The value of the rectory has not been stated, but it is rated in the king's books at 3*l*.

With Christ church was consolidated, in 1787, the church of St. Ewen. This church was of great antiquity, for it is mentioned in authentic documents as early as 1140. It was situated opposite to Christ church and to all Saints', and was one of the four churches which anciently surrounded the High Cross. William of Worcester twice mentions this church, and adds, "that the great east window of the altar was situated in Broad-street."* In this window, in 1461, stood Edward IV. to gratify the sanguinary appetite natural to tyrants, by observing the procession which conducted Sir Baudwyn Fullforde to execution. This event furnishes the subject of one of the most pathetic of those compositions attributed to Rowley, which bears for its title the denomination of the "Bristowe Tragedie."†

The church of Mary Le Port derived its appellation from being situated upon an eminence gradually ascending from the river Avon. From the church to the river appears to have been an open space, and vessels seem to have been moored in this part of the river in preference to the Froome, or what is now the Quay, for the greater conveniency, or dispatch, of discharging and of receiving their cargoes. More anciently indeed it is more than probable, that this part of the city was the principal seat of its mercantile transactions; for we learn from William of Worcester, that the street which originally occupied the space, upon which Bridge-street now stands, was called Worship-street, "because it was a street of honour and dignity, and on account of the merchandize of wool landed there."

St. Mary-Port church is dedicated to the Holy Virgin, and was probably

* Itin. de Wor. p.p. 227—215.

† Southey's edition of Chatterton's works, Vol. II. p. 87. The fact of Edward's visit to Bristol at this time is ascertained by an entry in the church-warden's book of account for this year thus: Item, for washyng the church payven against K. Edward 4th is comynge to Brystow, iiii. ob. The circumstance is also corroborated by the testimony of Stow.

founded by Robert Earl of Gloucester, who granted it to the abbey of Keynsham, for the support of the canons of that religious establishment.* It contained several chauntries, (connected however with no names of interest,) which were suppressed at the period of the general dissolution of monasteries. The subsequent history of this church contains nothing either of amusement or of instruction; nor has it been the means of rescuing from oblivion the names of any individuals so distinguished from their contemporaries by intellectual or moral excellence, that their biography would excite interest, or awaken an emulation that would conduct to eminence.

St. Nicholas church is a modern structure, erected upon the scite of an ancient church dedicated to the same saint. Old St. Nicholas church formed a part of the ancient boundaries of the city, and was in a line with the circular wall, which together with the castle and towers erected at certain distances, constituted its fortifications. The entrance to the city, after passing the old bridge, was under an arch, upon which stood part of the chancel of St. Nicholas church.

This church originally contained seven chauntries; one of which was consecrated to the memory of Richard Spicer, the founder of St. George's chapel, in the Guildhall;† and two of the others to that of Thomas Knappe,‡ the founder of a chapel upon the Back dedicated to St. John the Baptist.

The present church was begun in 1762, and finished about 1768,§ at the

* The patronage of Mary-Port was thus vested in Keynsham Abbey, from which it passed to Sir Thomas Bridges, and at present belongs to the Duke of Chandos.

† Vol II, chap. 1, p. 36.

‡ Chap. II. p. 64.

§ "At this period there were building in Bristol, a church, a theatre, and a bridge; of which the theatre was finished first, the bridge next, and the church last." MS. notes by Mr. Catcott, in the Bristol Library.

expenditure of upwards of £6000. Its architecture is in that style which has been denominated the modern, in order to distinguish it from the style which prevails in our cathedrals, and other ancient ecclesiastical structures. Considered as a specimen of this style, it is perhaps true, that this church is characterized by an elegant simplicity; but it is by no means calculated to excite those associations of reverential awe and impressive devotion which without any respect for superstition, may be regarded as peculiar to our ancient ecclesiastical architecture.

Under the tower near the west entrance is a monument to the memory, of John Whitson, Esq. who raised himself from a very humble and obscure station to opulence and distinction. He was twice mayor and represented the city in several parliaments during the reigns of the first James and of his successor Charles. He was the author of a little treatise, entitled “The aged Christian’s Farewell to the world and its vanities,” which has passed through four editions. It is strongly marked by good sense and unaffected piety, without any tincture of the fanaticism of the age in which he lived. His piety was combined with active benevolence, and at his death, which took place in 1629, in the 72nd year of his age, he bequeathed his fortune to charitable purposes. He was buried in the *crypt* or croud, and this monument was originally erected over his grave; but it was removed to its present situation by order of the corporation, and at the expense of the chamber, in testimony of their respect for the memory of a man who, whilst he lived was a distinguished ornament of their body.

To the parish of St. Nicholas* was annexed in 1776, that of St. Leonard’s. The church of this name was a small, but ancient fabric, though the date of its erection has not been preserved. It was removed in 1771, to afford an opening

* The patronage of St. Nicholas originally belonged to the abbey of St. Augustine, and is at present vested in the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral.

for the building of Clare-street; and if its history contained any circumstances of importance they have perished with it, and whatever memorials of the dead were entrusted to its care to be transmitted to posterity, are now irretrievably lost in everlasting oblivion.

By this time, perhaps, our readers, as well as ourselves, are somewhat fatigued by uninterrupted visits to tombs and sepulchres; or by the repetition of circumstances of unavoidable similarity; and consequently will not object to our deferring to a future chapter, what remains to be told of the history, or description of the other ecclesiastical structures of the city: since no position is more certain than that he who wishes to instruct, should endeavour to excite interest, or to gratify curiosity; and that it is in vain to attempt to convey information, if it be not in some measure rendered the means of communicating pleasure.

CHAPTER THE FIFTH.

CONTENTS.

Description of the ancient form and early state of the City—Historical Sketch of its progressive Alterations—and of its early as well as recent Improvements.

CHAPTER THE FIFTH.

THE early history of cities, as well as of nations, is generally so enveloped in obscurity, or disguised in fable, that it is difficult to state with precision the exact period of their commencement. It is still more difficult to trace the periods of the progress by which they have advanced from insignificance to importance. History has not condescended to record the period, in which the fisherman first erected a hut, or the shepherd built a cottage, on the spot which has since become eminent in civilization, or wealthy by commerce; and time sweeps before him in his progress the vestiges which would enable the antiquary to determine the degrees, by which the hut became a hamlet, or the cottage was increased to a village. Equally unknown is the variety of gradations, by which the village was enlarged to a fortified city, protected by its charters, and increasing by its privileges, till it emulated a metropolis in population, in opulence, and in extended commerce.

To the history of Bristol, to its early state, and to the progressive advances by which it attained its present rank among the commercial cities of the empire, these observations are particularly applicable; and as in this chapter it is proposed, to give a sketch of the successive and recent improvements of the city, commencing with its original plan, and proceeding through its several alterations to

the present time ; these observations must form the introduction to such facts, as we have been able to collect, in relation to these subjects.

The original form of Bristol appears to have been circular ; its principal streets, High-street with Broad-street, and Wine-street with Corn-street, intersecting each other, appear to have constituted the diameters of the circle. Its most ancient boundaries were John's gate and Nicholas gate on the north and south ; Defence gate, near Dolphin-street, and Baldwin gate,* near Baldwin-street, (through which was the ancient course of the river Froome) constituted the boundaries on the east and west. In addition to these principal gates, the wall also contained St. Giles' gate, and Tower gate ; the archway of the last, and that of St. John's gate, constitute the chief remains of the ancient fortifications. It moreover deserves to be mentioned, that each of the principal gates had a church or chapel adjoining to it, of which St. John's church is the only existing specimen.

The extension of the original plan of the city appears to have commenced on the side of Redcliff, and on that of Temple. These parishes, however, seem to have been rather rival cities, or independent towns, than parts of the ancient city ; for it is certain that Redcliff, in which Bedminster was included, was governed by its own magistrates ; the chief of whom was denominated ' Præpositor,' and exercised the same authority, as well as possessed the same title, as the chief magistrate of Bristol.

The only means of communication between Bristol and Redcliff, was originally that of a ferry ; and consequently that communication must have been

* This gate was subsequently called Leonard's, or Blind gate ; but whether Baldwin's gate was its *most ancient* denomination is perhaps dubious.

greatly increased, as well as greatly facilitated, by the first bridge erected over the Avon. Antiquarians have not determined at what period this bridge was erected; but it is highly probable, that the first bridge over this river was built by the illustrious Robert Earl of Gloucester, probably as early as 1141.* This supposition assumes, however, the authority of an historical fact from a passage in a charter granted by Henry II. in 1173. The charter is granted to the men of Redcliff, who are called "*Homines qui manent in marisco juxta PONTEM DE BRISTOW,*" the men who inhabit the marsh near to BRISTOL BRIDGE.†

Bristol and Redcliff were united to each other, and placed under the jurisdiction of the magistracy of the city of Bristol, by charter from Henry III. dated the 28th July, in the 31st year of that monarch's reign, or the year 1247.‡ This was the era of great improvement in the city, for in this year the harbour was rendered considerably more commodious; the Froome was diverted from its ancient course through Stephen and Baldwin-streets to the channel in which it at present flows, and the old bridge was erected over the Avon at the united expence of the inhabitants of Bristol and of Redcliff.

* Ponderer, No. 13. p. 70.

† Barrett's History, p.p. 73 & 663.

‡ The charters, &c. granted to Bristol; translated by the Rev. Samuel Seyer, M.A. Bristol, 1812. No. V. page 14. If this work has disappointed the expectations which were raised respecting it, no reflection on that account can attach to its respected and able translator. If it be true, as it has been objected, that conjectural emendations and verbal criticism are altogether inadmissible in legal instruments and historical documents, let the censure due to their employment belong to those whose illiberality, by refusing the editor access to the originals, obliged him to have recourse to their adoption, or to relinquish his design. The motion for granting Mr. Seyer's request to inspect the original charters in the possession of the Corporation, is said to have been lost in the Common Council by a single voice! It is to be wished that a list of the minority could be made public, in order to preserve their names and their memories from the censure or the contempt, with which posterity will not fail to view the proceeding.

Since this note was written the author has been informed that the body corporate acted by the advice of the Recorder, and he deems it an act of justice to insert the information.

The boundaries of this ancient city seem to have been next enlarged on the side of St. Augustine, to which object the vicinity of the monastery, and the erection of other religious edifices in the neighbourhood, greatly contributed. The only communication between these suburbs and the centre of the city, was then through St. John's to Froome gate, near which the Froome was crossed by a bridge deriving its name from the river, and forming a communication between Christmas and Host-streets. This bridge constituted the only communication between the monastery and the centre of the city* down to the year 1714, at which period a draw-bridge was erected over the Quay, at the expence of £1066. 6s 1d. The stone-bridge at the head of the Quay, opposite to Small-street, was not erected till 1754, at an expence of £2500. So comparatively recent are most of the improvements, which seem absolutely essential to the commerce and to the convenience of the city. Nor must we omit to record, that both of these last mentioned improvements were effected through the public spirit, and at the expence of the body corporate.

From the middle of the thirteenth down to the middle of the seventeenth century, either no very important and extensive improvements were effected in the city; or their remembrance has perished and their progress can be no longer traced. It must, therefore, suffice to observe, that Bristol was rendered an independent county, separate from the counties of Gloucester and of Somerset, by charter from Edward III. in 1373;† and that the enterprise of Cannynge, and of his contemporaries,‡ by the commencement of the sixteenth century, had

* In the centre of the city stood the celebrated High Cross, erected in the reign of Edward III. William of Worcester mentions that his father told him that he remembered its erection, and that before it was built, a holly tree grew in the centre of the city!

† The Charters, &c. by the Rev. Samuel Seyer, A. M. No. XII. page 39.

‡ Among these contemporaries may be distinguished Cabot, Elliot, and Thorne, who were unquestionably men of the greatest enterprise of the time in which they flourished. "Mr. Thorne, of Bristol, (says Dr.

raised it to a high reputation for commercial respectability, and extensive mercantile connexions.

The earliest account of the population of Bristol, with which the author is acquainted, occurs in the M.S. history before quoted,* thus “ An account was taken in 1607, of the number of people in the city of Bristol, in order to know how much corn was required every week for their support. The whole number of all sorts was found to be ten thousand five hundred and forty-nine.” In 1801 the population was found by the census, to be 63,645; and in the year 1811 the population of Bristol, including the parishes of Clifton and Bedminster, amounted to 71,279. It was necessary thus to anticipate the order of time, that by placing these amounts in one point of view, a comparison of the increase of the population of the city from the period it is first recorded to the present, might be made with greater facility. We must now carry back our readers to the middle of the seventeenth century, or about the year 1655.

Few cities in the kingdom have undergone greater alterations, or been the subject of greater improvements in the course of the last and of the preceding centuries than Bristol. The most important of its improvements have indeed taken place within the last fifty years; but there is an evident propriety in commencing our sketch of the recent improvements of the city, with the demolition

Bisset), one of the greatest merchants and boldest adventurers of the age established a factory at Cuba; and was the FIRST ENGLISHMAN who set the example of a commercial settlement in the new world. Employing the opportunities, he thereby acquired, not only for the purposes of present traffick, but for discovery, and future extension of commerce; he sent agents to the Spanish fleet, furnished with great sums of money to bring exact charts of the seas, rivers, and lands, which they visited; and as accurate a description of the accessibility, state and productions of the several countries, as they could procure.” Bisset’s History of the Reign of George III. Vol. I. p. 34.—and Hackluyt, Vol. II. p. 726.

* Vol II. chap. 2.

of its castle and fortifications, which took place in the year 1655. This circumstance increased the city by several additional streets;* and what is still more important, it opened a new road from the centre of the city to that part of Gloucestershire, through which is the shortest, and most direct communication with the metropolis.

The first important improvement in the commencement of the last century was the erection of queen's-square, by which a marsh that had long been used as a receptacle for the rubbish of the city, was converted into one of the most spacious squares in the kingdom. Queen's-square was begun in 1708, and finished in 1726; and during half a century was the favourite residence of our principal merchants, and the central point of attraction to the beauty and fashion of our city. The equestrian statue of William III. in the centre of this square was executed by Rysbrack; and erected in 1736, at the expence of £1800. It is a noble monument of the skill of that artist, and will remain to exact from a distant posterity, the tribute of admiration for his genius.

The present bridge was rebuilt in 1768; and is the era from which the greatest modern improvements in the city are to be dated. At the same time the old shambles were removed to make an opening for Bridge-street; which in point of regularity, will bear a comparison with most streets designed for the purposes of

* It is scarcely necessary to observe that these streets are Castle-street, Castle-Green, and Old Market-street, though some houses in the last mentioned seem to be of an earlier date. Perhaps the curious will be interested in knowing, that the centre of Old Market-street is said to have been a deep and narrow hollow way; so deep that it was easy to leap from the cause-way or foot-path upon the top of a waggon laden with hay; and so narrow that it was possible to reach the opposite side from the waggon. † An ancient mansion-house at the bottom of Captain-Cary's lane in Ellbroad-street, now modernized, bears over its portico the date of 1613; and in its vicinity the author met with a curiously carved door, which seemed coeval with the building to which it is attached, dated 1667.

commerce. About this period the church and spire of St. Nicholas were rebuilt, and the lower part of High-street filled up; the ascent to which before this time was not only difficult, but dangerous.

In 1770 the Bishop's Park was obtained by the late Samuel Worrall, Esq. on a lease for ninety years, at sixty pounds per annum; and the erection of College-street was begun in 1772. This year is still more memorable in the history of improvements in Bristol, by the removal of St. Leonard's church, with the archway and buildings connected with it, in order to open a space for the building of Clare-street. This gate had obtained the denomination of Blind-gate, and the sombre gloom of its appearance still lives in the memory of a few of our fellow citizens. Its removal therefore, was an important improvement, particularly when considered in its connexion with the centre of the city.

The ground upon which Park-street stands was originally denominated Bullock's Park; the buildings were begun in 1775. In 1787 Tucker-street was taken down, and the modern houses of Bath-street erected. In 1789 the foundation of St. Paul's church was laid, and Portland-square, with the numerous adjoining streets, were either begun or planned; some of which are already finished, and the others rapidly approaching their completion. Brunswick-square and the streets adjoining are of an earlier date. About 1789, also an important improvement was effected by the erection of Union-street, and its market; and in 1796 Nelson-street, opening an advantageous communication with Broadmead and the Quay, was commenced, but is not yet entirely completed.

From the latter part of this sketch an idea may be formed of the many and great improvements which have been recently effected in Bristol; and the many additions which have been made to the city within the last forty or fifty years

The additions indeed are so numerous, that it has probably increased at least a third within the last half century. In this sketch many streets have been omitted, of which some indicate by their names the periods of their erection ; of these Marlborough and Eugene-streets may be taken as examples. Others, such as Berkeley-square and Crescent, and the numerous streets upon Kingsdown, have been erected within the last thirty years ; but the exact periods of their commencement and completion have either not been ascertained, or were deemed destitute of sufficient interest to require a particular notice.

It was originally the author's intention to notice in this stage of his work, such houses in the several parts of the city as seemed entitled to remembrance, for having been the residence of any distinguished or remarkable characters. He regrets that his enquiries in reference to these objects, have been either unsuccessful, or unsatisfactory. If however any additional information in this respect should be obtained, previously to the completion of this work, he now proposes to insert whatever he may procure in the appendix. It is almost superfluous to add, that authentic information in relation to these or to any objects connected with the topography of Bristol, will always be received with peculiar pleasure and considered as an obligation.

In the preceding sketch of the improvements effected in the city, the periods in which such public buildings as the Exchange, Library, &c. were erected are omitted, that they may, with more propriety, find a place in our account of the several public buildings of Bristol. It now remains that we complete this sketch, by adding to it a survey of the successive and recent improvements which have been effected in the port and harbour of the city.

The situation of vessels frequenting the port of Bristol, appears to have been

anciently that part of the river Avon which is now denominated the Back.* It has already been observed that the Froome was diverted from its former course through Baldwin and Stephen streets, and the present Quay was formed in 1247 at the united expence of the citizens of Bristol and the inhabitants of Redcliff.† From this period no material alteration appears to have been made in the harbour till the construction of the dry dock in the Grove in 1769. This improvement was effected by the members of the merchants' hall, at the expence of ten thousand pounds. The Floating-dock in the Hotwell Road which cost the sum of fifteen thousand pounds was begun and finished about the same period. From these improvements the harbour of Bristol in extent and convenience, was ranked amongst the finest in Europe. As the vessels however by lying upon the mud, after the departure of the tide, were liable to receive injury from their situation, the recent improvements have removed the possibility of accidents arising from that source, and rendered the harbour equally secure, as it was formerly extensive, and convenient for mercantile transactions.

The idea of converting the rivers Avon and Froome into immense floating docks, by means of dams, appears to have been first brought into discussion in 1765. Perhaps it will be more accurate to state, that this was the period at which it was discussed as an object highly desirable, and immediately practicable. Early in the year 1765, Mr. Smeaton published a plan of the proposed improvement, and a calculation of the expence of the undertaking. This plan is said to have differed in several respects from that which has been adopted, and his calculation gave the sum of £25,000 as the probable expence, *exclusive* of the purchase of lands and the amount for damages done to mills, docks, &c. In 1767 Mr. Champion published a plan, which is said to have approached much nearer to that which has been adopted; but the expence of carrying either of these plans into immediate

* Mr. Barrett derives the word Back from *Bek*, a Saxon term, signifying a river.

† Chap. 5.

execution, was deemed an insuperable difficulty ; and in consequence the scheme was for the present relinquished.

The design however was by no means abandoned, and the public attention was frequently directed to it by essays and other communications in the several newspapers, as well as by separate publications and plans, in relation to the projected alteration. In 1791 Mr. Jessop published his plan for the improvement of the harbour. This plan approaches very nearly to that which has been adopted, and it was intended to carry it into immediate execution ; but the intervention of war arrested the progress of the design, for it was deemed expedient to postpone its commencement, till the season of peace should afford greater facilities for its completion.

At the return of peace the discussions in relation to this object were resumed ; and in 1802 a committee from the body corporate, and another from the members of the merchants'-hall, were delegated to meet each other, to examine the several plans, and to determine upon the most eligible. The utmost unanimity is said to have prevailed in the discussions, and in the determinations of the committee. That the projected alteration was highly desirable, and in a commercial point of view highly expedient, if not of absolute necessity, would scarcely admit of a variety of opinion. It was therefore determined that some scheme for the improvement of the harbour should be immediately adopted, that subscriptions should be raised for defraying the expences of the work, and that application should be made to parliament for permission to undertake the proposed improvements. Resolutions to this effect received the most decided support of the committee, and a large majority of those who were interested in the mercantile transactions of the city, approved and supported its proceedings.

It was next necessary to adopt some specific plan of improvement. That

which received the approbation of the committee was less extensive than that which has been adopted, since it proposed to dam up the Froome, and only a small part of the Avon, by making a canal through Cannon's Marsh. The calculations gave £200,000 as the probable expence of carrying this plan into execution. Subscriptions however to this amount were speedily procured. Among the subscribers were the names of men of the first respectability both for wealth, character and influence, who seemed to be actuated by the purest principles of public spirit, and by the laudable ambition of doing honour to their native city, by rendering its harbour as secure, convenient, and commodious as any in Europe.

Hitherto no discordant opinions or jarring interests, seemed to have interrupted the unanimity of the proceedings. About this stage of their progress, however, the plan which has been adopted appears to have been proposed, and the spirit of opposition was immediately roused. That an opposition, which commenced here, is much to be lamented will scarcely admit of doubt, since it produced such a variety of impediments to the prosecution of the scheme as increased its expences to an enormous amount, and in a degree almost unprecedented. In its consequences this may be most unpropitious to national improvement, because it has a tendency to damp the ardour of the spirit which prompts to the undertaking of works of public utility, but which are at the same time criterions of the civilization of nations, and lasting monuments of superior ingenuity combined with persevering industry. Such a criterion, and such a monument the harbour of Bristol unquestionably is in its present improved state. What it would have been if a different plan had been adopted we will not stay to inquire: but we impute neither ungenerous nor unworthy motives to those who contended that another plan ought to have been preferred. While these questions were agitated far different objects engrossed your attention, and consequently neither feeling nor interest influence our judgment; but our opinion is formed upon a calm and dispassionate review of the proceedings, and we hope they are recorded in the genuine feeling of historical impartiality.

The plan which has been adopted, though last proposed, had superior advantages, procured indeed at an additional expence, but that comparatively trifling for its recommendations, and these obtained for it a preference almost general; and in consequence the subscriptions were transferred from the *first* plan to the *second*, with very few exceptions. The estimated expences of completing this plan were nearly £300,000 but the additional subscriptions were filled up with a readiness, which manifested at once the public approbation of the scheme, and the wealth of the citizens. Thus supported, application was made to parliament for a bill which should grant the power of making the proposed alterations; and in 1803, the bill was passed. Its preamble states with the utmost perspicuity the advantages which were proposed from the completion of the undertaking, and for that reason it deserves a place in our work.

“ That whereas ships and vessels lying at the Quays, in the port and harbour of Bristol, are by the reflux of the tide left dry twice every 24 hours, which prevents many foreign vessels and others of a sharp construction from frequenting the said port and harbour, and occasions great injury and damage to vessels using the said port. And whereas there is not sufficient depth of water at neap tides in the said port and harbour to take vessels from the Quay down the river Avon to sea, or bring them on their return from voyages, whereby favourable winds are frequently lost, and great expences, delays, damages and losses are sustained, to the hinderance of commerce, and to the manifest disadvantage of the port and city of Bristol.

“ And whereas ships and vessels lying in the said port and harbour of Bristol cannot be removed out of danger in case of fire, owing to their being left dry, and very heavy losses might arise therefrom, and in case of fire among the houses in the said city of Bristol great inconvenience and loss would be experienced from want of water.

“ And whereas these dangers and inconveniences may be removed by erecting

three dams across the river Avon, at Redclift, at Totterdown, and near the Engine Mills at Brislington; and cutting a new course for the river Avon on the Somersetshire side of its present course, from Redclift to Totterdown, and making sundry locks, basons, other works. &c. But in as much as the same cannot be done without authority of Parliament, it is prayed that the stated clauses be passed into a law, &c."

By this act the direction of the improvement was vested in a board of twenty-seven directors, consisting of nine members of the common council, including the mayor for the time being; nine of the society of merchants, including the master; and nine of such subscribers to the undertaking as were possessed of ten shares each, who were to be chosen by ballot from the subscribers at large. This board was empowered to carry all the provisions of the act into execution, entrusted with the entire management of the affairs of the dock company, and were to continue in office till the expiration of a year after the works should be completed.

In order to defray the expences of the undertaking, the board was authorised to impose certain rates upon vessels as some remuneration for the advantages they would derive from the alterations, and certain duties were to be paid for various articles imported into the city. Both these rates and duties were defined by a schedule annexed to the act. The dock-company were also empowered to levy a rate upon all houses and other property in the city, in the same ratio as they contributed towards the poor, so as the said rate should not exceed in the whole the sum of two thousand four hundred pounds.

Commercial men have asserted that these duties upon vessels and merchandize were inconsiderable, when contrasted with the advantages proposed from the improvement. Some have even contended that it would have been preferable if these

had been increased, provided their duration had been limited, that the rate upon houses might have been avoided. But a sounder and more extended policy would dictate that this system should be reversed, and that for public works and local improvements the citizen shall be taxed, when the stranger is exempt. There can be no question that every facility of access should be furnished to the foreigner; and that, on the principle of commercial competition, he should be invited by the prospect of a combination of advantages, which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to procure in any other port in the empire or in the world.

The terms upon which the subscriptions were advanced were peculiarly liberal, and evince a degree of public spirit which it is difficult to commend too highly. The money was to bear no greater interest than four per cent. per annum for the first six years, and however productive the scheme might be in a pecuniary point of view, the subscribers were to derive no advantage beyond an interest of eight per cent. per annum on the original subscriptions. Whatever the docks might produce, beyond this amount, was directed to be applied to the discharge of the principal; and when this is accomplished, the corporation of Bristol will become the proprietors of the works.

When the design had advanced thus far in its progress, the intervention of war again threatened to delay the actual commencement of the improvement, till the times should be considered more propitious to its completion. It was however judiciously contended, that there never would be a time, when no difficulty would exist, and that if the scheme was now relinquished it would probably be abandoned for ever. Its immediate commencement, therefore was resolved upon, and on the first of May, 1804, the resolve was put into execution.

As the rates and duties allowed by the act took immediate effect, it became necessary that the dock-directors should pledge themselves for the completion of

the improvements within a limited time. This period was fixed to four years from the commencement of the work; and if by the expiration of this term it remained unfinished the rates were to cease, and thus not only would the prospect of all remuneration be annihilated, but all the interest arising from the sums advanced would be irrecoverably lost.

In the progress of the design it was discovered, that an extension of the plan fixed upon, was not only advantageous but essentially necessary to the completion of the improvement. Application was accordingly made to parliament for a bill to empower the dock directors to extend the original plan, so as to embrace the projected alterations. But by this period the gentlemen in opposition to the scheme had increased either in numbers, activity, or in parliamentary influence, for the bill was lost in the house of commons on the second reading. It is difficult to reconcile an event of this nature with the dictates of an enlightened policy, which ought by every means in its power to promote a spirit for local improvements, more particularly when they are proposed to be accomplished at the expence or at the risk of individuals. In unison with this policy has been the general conduct of the British government; since it has for the most part given a liberal encouragement to every scheme which has proposed public utility as its object; and consequently the proceedings of the legislature on this occasion, from being unusual, became the more remarkable.

The delay of a year was not the only consequence of the loss of this bill. It necessarily produced a very considerable additional expence, it shook the public confidence as to the completion of the scheme, and consequently produced some embarrassment in the concerns of the dock company. This embarrassment was however only temporary, for the few gentlemen, who had been selected to superintend the passing of the bills, gave the bank of England immediate security, to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds. In the subsequent session the bill

was passed, and the period for the completion of the work was extended from four to five years.

At length all difficulties seemed surmounted, but incredible exertions were requisite to finish the works by the time which had been assigned. The author well remembers the activity of the scene, which he witnessed in the erection of Princes'-street bridge a few days only before the term expired. This bridge was constructed with a rapidity, which seemed rather the operations of magic, than those of manual labour. In a former age it would have been pronounced to be the production of fairies; but happily now the agency of these little beings exists only in tales of the nursery, or in the fancy of the poet.

In May, 1809, the dock company made application to the magistrates of the quarter sessions for a certificate that they had fulfilled their engagements, as far as the navigation and commerce of the city were concerned. After some discussion the claim was allowed to be substantiated, and the certificate was accordingly granted. Thus was brought to its termination, an improvement which must be allowed to be highly creditable to the ability, and the perseverance of the gentlemen by whom it was supported and conducted, as well as honourable to the city at large. In our opinion those who projected, and those who managed this improvement have deserved well of their fellow-citizens, and of their country; and we hope that the period is not far distant, when their remuneration shall bear some proportion to the excellency of their deserving.

It has already been stated that the calculations of the probable expences of effecting these improvements in the harbour were £300,000 the actual cost however has been nearly £600,000! All the causes which produced this disproportion in the calculations and the actual expence have not yet been ascertained, and consequently we must content ourselves with enumerating such as have been the most prominent.

It must be premised that these calculations were formed in the expectation of the continuance of peace; the occurrence of war therefore produced some variation by an increase in the price of labour, and perhaps likewise in the materials, which were necessary for the improvement. The opposition also with which the scheme had to struggle was a source of additional expence; in its origin unexpected, but in itself considerable. To these are to be added the additions which were subsequently made to the original plan, which of necessity became sources of expence, that however anticipated, were still of great magnitude.

But the causes which most operated to augment the expence of carrying the plan into execution were the unexpected value assigned to property which it was necessary to purchase, and the heavy damages given by juries in the suits which the company has defended against individuals, who considered themselves injured by the alterations effected either in the Avon or the Froome. Much of the expence originating in these causes could not have been anticipated, and therefore for them it was impossible to make any provision. The particulars will probably be soon published; and either our memory is defective, or these particulars will excite surprize in the perusal, but the lesson they will furnish will be both instructive and useful. They will imperiously bid the sanguine projector pause before he embarks in a scheme of doubtful success; but we do most unfeignedly wish that they may never have any tendency to check the progress of the spirit of improvement, or to damp the generous ardour which sacrifices individual interests in the promotion of schemes, which are intended to promote the benefit of the community.

The objects which were proposed to be accomplished by the improvement, of which we have thus given an historical sketch, are perspicuously and distinctly stated in the preamble to the act which authorized its commencement.* Since

* Page 160.

the work has been completed, that which was the conjecture of speculation has become the decision of experience, and it is pleasing to add that no disappointment has been incurred. Whatever advantages were promised from the execution of the scheme, have been completely realized. It is true that an immense loss has been sustained, but this has fallen upon individuals; and in this instance at least the losses of individuals have been the means of increasing both the public conveniency, and the public wealth.

Among the advantages derived from the improvement, this may deserve to be distinguished, that now the largest vessel of the port may proceed to sea with the lowest neap tides. Before the improvement of the harbour, weeks and even months were lost, because large vessels were obliged to wait for the spring tides, and were consequently incapable of taking advantage of favourable winds for leaving the Bristol channel. This inconvenience, as well as source of expence, is now entirely removed, and that in a degree which was not contemplated before the completion of the improvement. The expence too of loading and of unloading vessels is considerably diminished, as they now always preserve the same relative position to the walls of the quay, and are no longer elevated or depressed by high or low water. This is a practical advantage resulting from the adoption of the scheme, which was either not insisted upon, or not anticipated in the extent in which it has been experienced.

Of the *plan* by which these advantages have been secured, we have scarcely spoken. The *improvement itself* has our warmest admiration, and we have already frankly confessed that when the several plans for effecting it were discussed, we had neither leisure nor inclination to scrutinize their respective merits. Of one feature in the plan which has been adopted we know not how to speak too highly, we mean its *simplicity*: by which it was adapted to existing circumstances and existing conveniences. In effecting similar improvements in other parts of the

kingdom,* immense sums have been expended in the purchase of houses which were to be removed before the alterations could be begun, and when they were finished new warehouses in contiguous situations became necessary. In Bristol two navigable rivers were converted into immense floating docks; the warehouses however, which were erected by our fathers, so far from being deserted only became the more valuable, and the transactions of commerce acquired an additional certainty, expedition, and facility.

From the history which we have thus given of the successive improvements in the harbour of Bristol, it appears in a great measure to be the creation of art. Nature indeed had formed the harbour secure, but art has rendered it commodious and convenient. The history of its improvements is honourable to the enterprize, perseverance, and public spirit of the citizens. It shall be granted that its harbour is a principal source of that wealth, which gives Bristol its pre-eminence in the commercial world; but it is at the same time gratifying to be able to record, that the wealth which has been thus acquired has not been dissipated in luxurious gratifications, but has been employed in procuring advantages, in which the community and the country participate.

* To construct the New London Docks for instance, several hundred houses were removed, and immense expences incurred before they could be begun; and when finished, new warehouses became necessary to give to commerce all the expedition which present circumstances render essential almost to its existence, but certainly to its success.

CHAPTER THE SIXTH.

CONTENTS.

History of the Church of St. Michael; its Monuments; Biographical Notices of eminent Persons connected with its History—of St. James—St. John—St. Paul—St. Peter—St. Philip—St. Thomas—Temple—and St. Mary Redcliff.

CHAPTER THE SIXTH.

IN the history of a city, historical and descriptive notices of its churches are of indispensable necessity, and may at the same time be rendered sources, either of instruction or amusement. To combine these objects, as far as we were able, biographical notices of such individuals as are connected with the history of the churches of Bristol were introduced into our narrative. In the present chapter we propose to proceed upon similar principles; preserving, however, that regard for conciseness, of which the limits assigned to our work will, in all cases, compel us to be particularly studious.

The ancient church of St. Michael was originally dedicated to the archangel, and is conjectured to have derived its origin from Robert Fitzhaymon, the founder of the abbey of Tewksbury. St. Michael's constituted a part of the endowment of that celebrated abbey; and in 1193, Richard Cumblain was presented to this rectory by the abbot and members of that religious establishment.

Robert Fitzhaymon, the probable founder of this church, was a gentleman, of the bedchamber to William Rufus; and for his zeal and activity in securing that monarch's power in opposition to the pretensions of his brother Robert, the duke of Normandy, Fitzhaymon was raised to the dignity of the Earldom of Glou-

cester, and put in possession of the estates which had supported the power and the splendour of the peerage. He died in 1107, and was buried in the choir of the abbey at Tewksbury.

The church of St. Michael continued under the patronage of Tewksbury abbey upwards of a century, but in 1291 it appears to have been annexed to the archdeaconry of Gloucester and the deanery of Bristol. The corporation of Bristol became its patrons by purchase in 1627.

The present church was commenced nearly upon the scite of the old St. Michael's in 1775, and completed in 1777. It is consequently a modern structure, but its interior does not in any degree tend to excite associations, which are incompatible with the sacred service to which it is appropriated.*

The monuments in this church are few; neither are those few calculated to excite any very general interest. We have visited them with those peculiar feelings, which scenes like these inspire, and remember having been particularly struck with the Latin inscription on a tablet bearing the name of Henry Hobhouse, Esq. This tablet is near the door in the north aisle, and nothing but the length of the inscription prevents our transcribing and translating it. He is represented as having been a man of genius and of various acquisitions, both elegant and profound.

* St. Michael's church is a specimen of the barbarous combination of Grecian and Gothic architecture, by which modern taste has been distinguished. Its exterior is particularly *plain*, and the windows are in the Gothic or pointed style; the interior is Grecian architecture tastefully *ornamented*; but the effect of a Gothic window seen through Grecian columns would be ridiculous, if the sanctity of the place did not inspire a better feeling. To procure variety, the sashes which separate the entrance from the body of the church have *circular* heads. It is surely time that these barbarisms should be universally exploded. Since every species of architecture has its distinct characteristics, and to confound them thus in the same building, manifests as gross ignorance as to confound Corinthian with Doric, or Ionic with Composite.

He was eminently skilled as a lawyer, and obtained the highest reputation as a pleader. He died in 1772, in the 49th year of his age.

As we approach the altar from this monument, a peculiarly neat tablet arrests attention, bearing the following inscription :

Sacrum Memoriam
 ELISABETH ALOISIE BONUCCI,
 Ornatae Piae Benevolentis
 JOSEPH ANTONIUS,
 Grato conjugis animo
 P.
 Nata die v. Aprilis MDCCLV.
 Obiit viii. Junii, MDCCCXI.
 Sacred
 to the
 Memory
 of
 ELISABETH ELOISA BONUCCI,
 Who was distinguished
 By elegance of manners,
 By piety,
 By benevolence.
 Her grateful husband
 JOSEPH ANTONIUS,
 caused this monument to be erected.
 She was born on the 5th of April, 1755.
 She died on the 8th of June, 1811.

Near the altar is an elegant monument to the memory of Joseph Percivall, a merchant of eminence, who raised himself to fortune by his talents and his industry. He died in 1764, in the 74th year of his age. The figures on this monument are well executed, and exhibit peculiar taste.

Leaving the altar to approach the south aisle a mural tablet solicits notice because it records the premature removal of a youth of great promise and of great worth. A father and a sister sleep in the same grave.

Sacred to the memory
of RICHARD STRATTON,
Eldest Son of
ANTHONY PALMER COLLINGS,
And JOANNA his Wife,
Obiit 16th May, 1808,
Ætat 15.

Also to ANTHONY PALMER COLLINGS, Esq. late Collector
of the Customs in this Port. Obiit 28th May, 1809, Ætat 56.

Also to ELIZA FRANCES Eldest daughter of
ANTHONY PALMER COLLINGS, and JOANNA his Wife,
Obiit 22d August, 1812. Ætat. 21.

In the church-yard of St. Michael, a flat stone covers the grave of W. J. Roberts. This interesting and amiable youth has erected to himself a memorial which shall not perish, but we early "learned to love the memory" of genius, and we derive a malancholy pleasure from paying this tribute of our respect to his reputation. The grave-stone of Roberts bears the following inscription:

To the Memory of
WILLIAM ISAAC ROBERTS,
Son of
WILLIAM and ANNE ROBERTS,
Born May 5th, 1786,
And died
December 26th, 1806.
His amiable and friendly disposition,
steady character and powers of genius,
displayed themselves at a very
early period of life,
and continued to its final close,
endearing him to his disconsolate
parents, relations and friends,
who will long lament his loss.

The early education of Roberts was in no respect favourable to the expansion of his intellectual powers. He soon became sensible of his deprivation, and applied all the energy of his superior mind to remedy the deficiency. His days were devoted to business and the hours which should have been given to relaxation or to rest, were rigidly applied to study. It must be recorded as the prominent feature in the character of Roberts, that he sought reputation neither in the indulgence of eccentricity, nor in the dereliction of the duties of his station, but that he sacrificed the sprightly hours of youth to employments uncongenial with his taste, and incompatible with his happiness, because he deemed the sacrifice the dictate of duty, and essential to the happiness of a mother. Peace to his gentle spirit! and the fame for which he panted, shall duteously attend upon his memory, for his virtues and his genius have consecrated his name to an unfading reputation.*

The parish church of St. James, was originally the chapel of a Priory of

* Of the poetical effusions of Roberts, the reader is presented with a specimen, marked by peculiar tenderness and as applicable to the poet, as to her whom he loved and lamented.

EPITAPH.

PILGRIM, if youth's seductive bloom,
 Thy soul in pleasure's vest arrays;
 Pause at this sad and silent tomb,
 And learn how swift thy bliss decays.
 But ah! if woe has stabb'd thy breast,
 And dimm'd with tears thy youthful eye;
 Mourner, the grave's a house of rest,
 And *this one* teaches how to die!
 For she who sleeps this stone beneath,
 Though many an hour to pain was given;
 Smiled at the hovering dart of death,
 While hope display'd the joys of heaven.

See "Poems and Letters by W. J. Roberts," and the Ponderer, No. 20, p. 109.

considerable extent, dedicated to the honour of God, the blessed Mary, and St. James the Apostle. This priory was founded and endowed by the illustrious Robert Earl of Gloucester, probably as early as the year 1130. The chapel is said to have been erected by appropriating to this sacred purpose, every tenth stone intended to be employed in the repairing and enlarging of Bristol Castle, of which the Earl of Gloucester was then lord and governor. This was in the genuine spirit of the superstition of the times, and transcendently great as the genius of Robert unquestionably was, it was either incapable of escaping its influence, or it considered that policy dictated the expediency of complying with its injunctions.

Robert Rufus, Earl of Gloucester, and founder of this priory, was the natural son of Henry I. by Nesta, daughter of Rhces, Prince of South Wales. He was born about the year 1090, and in 1109, married Mabilia, daughter and heiress of Robert Fitzhaymon. Upon the usurpation of Stephen, he distinguished himself by his zeal and attachment to the rights of Matilda, of whose cause he was the firmest support, and to him is to be attributed the success which enabled her for a short period to wield a sceptre that she had not the skill to retain. During every reverse of fortune, he preserved the most unshaken fidelity to his sovereign, neither could disgust at her haughty demeanour to her subjects, nor the suggestions of ambition inviting him to a throne, induce him to deviate from the dictates of integrity. In such estimation was he held by Matilda, that being taken prisoner by some of Stephen's party near Winchester, in 1141, the Earl of Gloucester was deemed an equal exchange for that monarch, and thus became the means of releasing the king from a dungeon, to restore him to the throne.

Nor was it merely by his skill and intrepidity in the field that the Earl of Gloucester so greatly surpassed his contemporaries; he was equally distinguished by his love of science and literature, and by his munificent patronage of learn-

ing.* To him William of Malmesbury dedicated his History, and if no other circumstance entitled him to the admiration of posterity, this alone should consecrate his name to immortality.

It only remains to be added, that the character of Henry II. was in a great measure the formation of the Earl of Gloucester, and that he terminated his distinguished and truly honourable career in 1147 in the 57th year of his age. He was buried in the centre of the choir of the priory chapel, now the parish church of St. James, but neither monument nor inscription preserves the memory of the spot; yet his name, and the remembrance of his talents and virtues shall be as durable as it can be rendered by the literature, which he loved and patronized.

The priory of St. James, which owed its origin to the piety and munificence of the nobleman of whose character we have only sketched the outline, extended from Whitsun-court, on the west of the present church, to St. James's-Barton; and in commodiousness and convenience, as well as in extent, seemed to possess every requisite of a splendid and affluent establishment. It was inhabited by monks of the Benedictine order, but of what number their foundation consisted has not been recorded. This priory was constituted by its founder a cell to the monastery of Tewkesbury, and continued subject to its jurisdiction till the dissolution of religious houses. Few circumstances in its history have been preserved, even its ruins have long since disappeared, and the space which it occupied has been assigned to other purposes. Recently a portion of this space has been appropriated to the erection of a school house, for the education of the children of indigence. The philanthropist will hope that this is a happy revolution, and that the spot in which the triumph of ignorance and superstition was consummated, will henceforth be instrumental in disseminating the blessings of civilization, and in accelerating the progress of intellect.

* Littleton's History of the Life of Henry II.

The church of St. James has undergone many alterations, and exhibits in its exterior, as well as interior, several varieties of that style which characterises ecclesiastical architecture. In the interior the semi-circular arches of the aisles supported by massive circular columns, are interesting specimens of Saxon architecture: and the recent alterations in its exterior are intended to approximate to the pointed style, but adorned with ornaments in what is denominated the modern taste.

Previously to a description of the monuments connected with this church which seem most worthy of notice, it deserves to be recorded that the unfortunate Princess Eleanor, sister to Prince Arthur, and usually styled the “Damsel of Britanny,” was buried in the chapel of St. James’s priory, after having been detained a prisoner in Bristol castle during the greater part of her life by John, the murderer of her brother, and the usurper of her rights as heiress to the English throne. Her remains were removed in 1241 to the nunnery of Ambresbury, in Wiltshire, by a charter of licence from Henry III.

Near the altar is a splendid monument inscribed to the memory of Sir Charles Somerset, knight; on a scroll in the tablet of which is the following inscription: “Sir Charles Somerset, knight, fifth son to the Right Honourable Henry Earl of Worcester, and standard bearer unto her Majesties honourable band of gentlemen pensioners, who married Eme, widow of Giles Morgan, of Newport, Esq. daughter and co-heiress to Henry Brayne, Esq. by whom he had one sole daughter, first married to Ratcliff Gerrard, Esq. and afterward to Edward Fox, Esq. He deceased the 11th day of March, Anno Domini 1598, being of the age of 64 years, who lieth here entombed, with his wife Eme, who departed Anno Domini 1590.”

Against the west wall is a monument bearing names which interested us, and we transcribe them because we think they may interest some of our readers: “To Mary Scandrett, daughter of George Dighton, wife of Capt. Christopher Scandrett,

who died December the 20th, 1737, aged 66 ; with Christopher, Mary, and George, their children."

In the church-yard is an altar tomb bearing on its tablets inscriptions of peculiar interest, but which are now scarcely legible.* We are not certain that we have decyphered them with accuracy, but we were anxious to rescue them from entire oblivion, and we have marked the word respecting which we were most uncertain: On one tablet is—

H. S. E.
 Quod mortale fuit
 SAMUELIS BURY, SS. E. M.
 Viri eximiis dotibus ornati
 Qui omnes sacri muneris partes
 Felicissime præstitit ;
 Cognatis benignus, fidus amicis,
 Cunctis benevolus ;
 Morum gravitatem summa dulcedine
 Ac modestia temperavit.
 Ob. VI. Martii. A.D. MDCCXXIX.
 Ætatis suæ LXVII.

On the other is—

Hic placide dormit
 ELIZABETHA BURY,
 Perchara æque ac cultissima consors
 Samuelis Bury, V. D. M.

* It is certainly desirable that some plan should be adopted to exempt monumental inscriptions from the influence of time and chance, and we have often thought that this plan would be adequate to the purpose.—Let a *printed* copy of every inscription, furnished at the expence of the individual who erects the monument, be provided, and let it be pasted into a book kept for the purpose. In churches these books should be deposited in the vestry, and arranged according to their dates ; in dissenting places of worship they might be preserved with the records of the society. To render the plan perfect, *all* inscriptions should be admitted, and the books in which they were contained should be at all times *accessible*.

EvssCws docta, pie festiva, in exemplum nata*
Dum mens pia abiit ad plures,
Obiit V. Id. Maij. A.D. MDCCXX. Ætat LXXVI.

TRANSLATIONS.

Beneath is deposited
 All that was mortal
 of
 The Reverend SAMUEL BURY.
 A man eminently gifted
 With the powers of intellect,
 Which he dedicated to the successful discharge
 of all the duties of the christian ministry.
 His conduct was distinguished
 by
 Benignity to his relations,
 Fidelity to his friends,
 And by the exercise of general benevolence.
 In him
 Affability and condescension
 were united with
 Gravity of manners.
 He died in 1729, in the 67th year of his age.

Here sleeps in peace
 ELIZABETH BURY,
 The beloved and accomplished consort
 Of the Reverend Samuel Bury.
 She was eminent in learning;
 But the cheerfulness
 of her piety,
 Furnished a perfect model for imitation,
 And marked the whole of her progress towards
 The regions of immortality.
 She died in 1720, in the 76th of her age.

* Concerning this word we have considerable doubts.

Elizabeth Bury was no less distinguished by the powers of her intellect, than by the extent of her acquisitions. She lived in an age in which learning was scarcely accessible to her sex, yet was she critically skilled both in French and in Hebrew, and profoundly read in history, both ancient and modern. She possessed no inconsiderable acquaintance with natural philosophy, and was skilled both in mathematics and in heraldry. She had studied anatomy and medicine, that she might possess the ability of alleviating the sufferings of the indigent, and her acquisitions in these departments of knowledge procured her high encomiums from some of the most eminent practitioners of her age. But it was the undiminished ardour of her piety which formed the peculiar characteristic of Mrs. Bury. Her diary, which she appears to have kept without interruption for upwards of fifty years, bears ample testimony to the pure and sublime pleasures which she experienced in the cultivation of a devotional temper. In the account of her life, afterwards published by her husband, selections from this diary were included,* and to it Dr. Watts alludes in the following passage of exquisite tenderness in his elegy on her death :

The partner of her cares

Seized the fair piece and washed it o'er with tears,
Dressed it in flowers, then hung it on her urn ;
A pattern for the sex in ages yet unborn.

It must not be omitted that the talents and virtues of Mrs. Bury were neither neglected by her contemporaries, nor have they been forgotten by her successors. Her name is enrolled among the illustrious dead, and it will be transmitted to posterity among those of the eminent women whom Ballard's memoirs have rescued from oblivion.†

* The title to this volume, now become scarce, is—"An account of the life and death of Mrs. Elizabeth Bury, who died May 11th, 1720, aged 76, chiefly collected out of her own diary, together with her funeral sermon, preached at Bristol, May 22d, 1720, by the Rev. Mr. William Tong, and her elegy by the Rev. Mr. I. Watts."

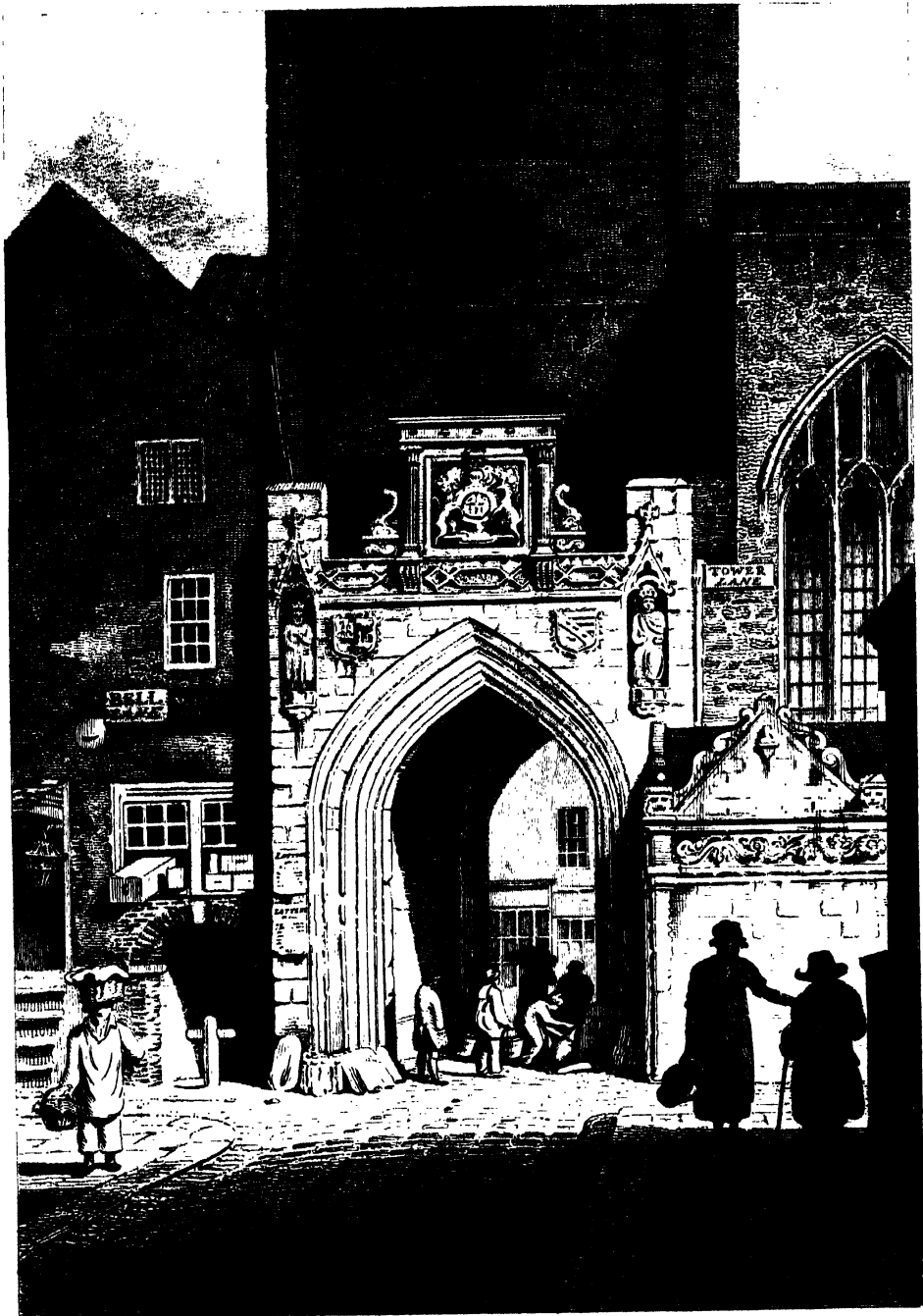
† Ballard's *Memoirs of British Ladies* who have been celebrated for their writings, or skill in the learned languages, arts, and sciences, page 291.

Tradition relates that when that awful disease the plague committed its ravages in Bristol, its victims were buried in a part of St. James's church-yard. Certain it is that the part, which is supposed to have been appropriated to this purpose, is no longer used for interments; but whether for this reason, or because it was never consecrated to this object, according to the ceremonies of the national church, is in a certain degree doubtful. If the disease had ever been interred here, it is probable that its contagion is now extinguished. But the following fact relative to the re-appearance of this disease from a similar cause, is so impressive and so curious, that it deserves to be generally known, and we transcribe it to contribute every thing in our power to its notoriety. "In the summer of 1757, five labouring men, inhabitants of Eyam, were digging amongst the plague-graves on the heathy mountains above the village, to make potatoe ground for a cottage which had been built there, they came to something which had the appearance of having once been linen. Conscious of its situation, they instantly buried it again; but in a few days they all sickened of a putrid fever, and three out of the five died. It was so contagious that the sick could procure no attendance out of their own family. The disease proved mortal to seventy persons of Eyam."

"Thus did the subtle, unextinguished, but much abated power of this superlatively dreadful disease awaken from the dust, in which it had slumbered ninety-one years."*

The present St. John's church is a small structure which derived its origin

* Literary Correspondence, page clxv. in "The Poetical Works of Anna Seward, edited by Walter Scott, Vol. I. The letter from which we have taken the extract in the text, contains an impressive history of the progress of the plague at Eyam, in Derbyshire, in 1666, and an interesting delineation of a superior mind dedicating itself to its duties amidst the ravages of disease and of death. This sacrifice was made by Mr. Mompesson, then rector of Eyam, whose name ought to be transmitted to a distant posterity as a perfect model of christian philanthropy.



Drawn by E. Ford

Published by Wm. Shippard, Exchange, Bristol

Engraved by C. Kneller

ST JOHN'S GATE.
Bristol.

from Walter Frampton, an opulent merchant, who flourished about the middle of the fourteenth century. Of the biography of Frampton, nothing more is known than that he thrice enjoyed the honour of the chief magistracy in Bristol, and that at his death he was buried in St. John's church. Even these particulars, scanty as they are, are gathered from the inscription on his tomb: "Hic jacet corpus Gualteri Frampton, mercatoris et hujus ecclesiæ fundatoris terque villæ Bristolliaë mayoris, 1357." Beneath are deposited the remains of Walter Frampton, merchant, the founder of this church, and thrice mayor of the city of Bristol, 1357.

Near the tomb of Frampton is an inscription which deserves notice: "Hic jacet Thomas Rowley, quondam mercator et vicecomes hujus villæ Bristolliaë, qui quidem Thomas obiit 23d January, A.D. 1478, et Margeret uxor quæ obiit A.D. 1470." Beneath is deposited Thomas Rowley, formerly a merchant and sheriff of Bristol, who died on the 23d of January, 1478; together with Margaret, his wife, who died in 1470. In the *crypt* under this church are several ancient tombs: one is of alabaster. It is of superior elegance for the age in which it was erected, and is conjectured to have been dedicated to the memory of Thomas Rowley.

The arch and tower of St. John's are curious and interesting objects. Two statues still adorn this tower, which till very lately were inscribed with the names of Brennus and Belinus, the reputed founders of Bristol. Of what age these statues are it is not easy to determine, though it is scarcely possible that they could be prior to the rebuilding of the church and tower by Frampton, and highly probable that they were executed posterior to 1480, about which period the exploits of these heroes began to be generally associated with the origin of Bristol. These associations derived their authority principally from William of Worcester, who, as well as the *Kalendaries*, had received the fictions of Geoffery of Monmouth as historical narratives.

Connected with the history of St. John's church is the existence and the story of the far-famed T. Rowleie, who, according to Chatterton, "was a secular priest of St. John's," and of whom he affirms that "his merit as a biographer and historiographer is great, as a poet still greater; some of his pieces would do honour to Pope; and the person under whose patronage they may appear to the world will lay the Englishman, the antiquary, and the poet under an eternal obligation." Of the probability of the existence of such a person as Rowley we have already spoken,* and we shall now only add, that a Thomas Rowley is said by Mr. Barrett to have been chauntry-priest at Redcliff. But the time in which he lived, and the particulars of his history have not been recorded.

In connexion with St. John's tower, on the west, was the ancient church of St. Laurence. The period of its erection is unknown, and every circumstance relative to its history is now buried in obscurity, except that the church was demolished, and the parish incorporated with St. John's in the year 1580. That the church of St. Laurence contained some memorials which were designed to perpetuate the names of the eminent, the adventurous, or the wealthy, of the ages that are gone, is probable; but it is certain that these memorials and their subjects are now equally consigned to everlasting silence.

St. Paul's church is a modern structure, which was finished in 1794. It has been admired for the taste displayed in its ornaments, and it has been asserted that they are characterized by a chaste simplicity, peculiarly appropriate in buildings dedicated to the purposes of a religion, the spirit of which is incompatible with every species of ostentation. For ourselves we shall freely confess, that the impression produced upon our minds by the interior of St. Paul's was by no means in unison with these sentiments. The exceptions which we made to the interior

* In the note p. 51, Vol. II.

of St. Michael's church* are in a great measure applicable to St. Paul's. To repeat these exceptions might be considered invidious, but not to make them would appear to us a dereliction of duty, because it would be a departure from that strict line of impartiality which we have endeavoured to make the rule of our conduct. The time we hope is not far distant, when a recurrence to classical† standards of excellency in the several species of architecture, will render our ecclesiastical and other public buildings such as will do honour to the taste of the age in which they were erected, and afford to a distant posterity instructive monuments of genius and of art.

Entering the church by the west door, we were impressed by the simplicity of a grave on the left, on which are two urns, and one is inscribed—

SUSAN SMALL,
August 30th, 1810.

In the north, a small and plain tablet bears the following inscription:

In a vault near this place,
are deposited
the remains of HANNAH SOPHIA,
Wife of ROBERT PEACH, Esq. of Northampton,
and many years a resident of this City.
She died on the 10th of March, 1810, aged 69.
Also the remains of the said ROBERT PEACH,
who died on the 21st of March, 1813, aged 85.
They were worthy examples of conjugal and parental affection,
and are sincerely regretted by their surviving
children and friends.

* Page 174, Vol. II.

† Perhaps the term which we have chosen to adopt may render it necessary to observe here, that in our opinion Salisbury Cathedral and Westminster Abbey are classical standards of excellency in ecclesiastical architecture.

Near the altar is a monument from a design by Flaxman, and executed by Rossi, bearing the following inscription :

Sacred to the Memory of
 SPENCER THOMAS VASSAL, Esq. Lieut.-Colonel of the 38th Regiment ;
 who, after 28 years of active and unremitting service,
 during which he had justly acquired a high military reputation,
 was mortally wounded,
 at the storming of Monte Video, in South America,
 on the 3d of February, 1807, at the moment
 he had conducted his intrepid followers within the walls of that fortress,
 and expired on the 7th of the same month.

His beloved remains,
 brought to England by the companions of his victory,
 are deposited near this spot—
 Where to record her own, her children's, and her country's loss—
 She, who was the wedded and happy witness of his private worth,
 has caused this monument to be erected.

Stranger, if e'er you honoured Sidney's fame,
 If e'er you loved Bayard's spotless name,
 Then on this marble gaze with tearful eyes,
 For kindred merit here with VASSAL lies.
 But far more blest than France' or England's pride,
 In the great Hour of Conquest VASSAL died.
 While still undaunted in the glorious strife,
 Content he purchased Victory with Life,
 And nobly, careless of his own distress,
 He bade his mourning comrades onward press ;
 Bade them (the Hero, Victor o'er the Man,)
 Complete the Conquest which his Sword began ;
 Then proudly smiled amidst the pangs of death,
 While thanks for Victory fill'd his parting breath.

For the several varieties in this species of architecture, the reader may consult Dr. Milner's treatise on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of the Middle Ages; and a work entitled "Essays on Gothic Architecture," published by Taylor.

The subject of the painting over the altar is "Paul preaching at Athens." It is indeed an interesting picture, exhibiting unquestionable proofs that it is the production of genius, combined with taste and skill in the art. On a tablet in an adjoining vestry is an inscription which we gladly transcribe, because the names which it records will always deserve most honourable mention, for taste in discriminating the powers of an artist whose subsequent productions have entitled him to a distinguished place among the most eminent of his contemporaries. Bristol has acquired a pre-eminence as a city in which genius and talents have been produced ; and we hope that the time is come, or rapidly approaching, when it will obtain distinction for its skill in discovering merit, and its disposition, united to the ability it already possesses, to foster that merit, and to assist it in its progress to maturity. The tablet we have mentioned bears this inscription :

The Painting
Placed over
The Communion-Table,
A masterly performance
Of Mr. EDWARD BIRD,
Is the gift of
The Rev. JOSEPH ATWELL SMALL, D.D.
ABRAHAM LUDLOW, M.D.
JOHN CAVE,
STEPHEN CAVE,
BENJAMIN BAUGH,
WILLIAM WEARE,
WILLIAM BATTERSBY,
ROBERT BUSH, } Esqrs.

29th Sept. 1798.

The church which is now usually denominated St. Peter's was originally dedicated to the holy apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul. It seems anciently to have belonged to Bristol castle, and probably derived its foundation from the zeal or the piety of one of the early governors of that fortress. It is conjectured to be of

considerable antiquity, since it is represented to have existed prior to the Norman conquest; but the date of its erection and the name of its founder are together consigned to oblivion.

St. Peter's was among the churches of Bristol which Robert Fitzhaymon bestowed upon the abbey of Tewkesbury. This grant was confirmed in 1106 by Henry I.; and in subsequent periods frequent mention is made of the church of St. Peter of "BRICSTON," and "BRICSTOU;" but no circumstance of interest has been connected with these notices, and consequently no regret can be excited that they are passed over in silence.

Among the names which this church has been the means of preserving from oblivion, that of John Esterfield may deserve the tribute of a passing mention. He died on the 18th of February 1507, on which day it was intended that his obit should be annually solemnized in the church of St. Peter, for ever. Of his talents or his virtues no record has been preserved; but it is known that he was distinguished among his contemporaries, since he reached the highest civic honours which Bristol could confer, and he is represented to have been a merchant of eminence. Conjecture must finish the portrait, of which this is scarcely an outline; but conjecture itself must fail in determining what degree of the prosperity or happiness of the present generation is derived from the enterprize or the exertions of John Esterfield; for though his name is almost consigned to forgetfulness, candour bids us hope that even he has contributed to ameliorate the age in which we live.*

* If it be true that the amelioration of the human race has constantly advanced, and that its retrogressions have existed only in appearance, it follows that every individual must have contributed in some degree to that amelioration. Without determining the accuracy of these conjectures, speculations founded upon them may combine with other feelings to give additional interest to places of sepulture, and may produce a beneficial influence in the formation of the character.

A splendid monument near the altar is consecrated to the memory of Robert Aldworth, who is entitled to distinguished notice as a merchant of the first rank of the age in which he lived. Aldworth was born in 1561. He is represented as having enjoyed the wealth which he acquired from his extensive mercantile transactions, merely because it furnished him with the means of alleviating the distresses of the indigent. His career was extended to the 73d year of his age, and he died in 1634. From the inscriptions on his monument, the following in English may deserve a transcription :

In a vault under this monument

Lies, with MARTHA his Wife, ROBERT ALDWORTH.

Merchant and Alderman of this city ;

Who, leaving no issue, bequeathed all his estate to Giles Elbridge,

Merchant, likewise of this city ; who married his Niece.

This monument was repaired and beautified at the charge of

DOWAGER LADY SMITH.

1807.

In the vault in which the remains of Aldworth were deposited, is also interred John Elbridge, Esq. upon whose memory rests the splendor which is derived from beneficent activity, resulting from his exertions and his contributions towards the erection and establishment of the Bristol Infirmary. His contributions to this object during his life amounted to at least £1500. His exertions were indefatigable, and so important, that without any injustice to those of his contemporaries who co-operated with him in forwarding the institution, Mr. Elbridge may be considered the founder of the charity. The old Bristol Infirmary was erected about the year 1736. While he lived, Mr. Elbridge supported it almost at his individual expence, and at his death, which occurred in 1739, bequeathed £5000 towards a fund for its future maintenance. Since his death, many benevolent individuals have emulated his noble example, and in 1787 it was resolved to rebuild the Infirmary upon

an extended plan. One wing was finished in 1788, and the centre was next erected. The western wing has been recently completed; and the whole building is highly honorable to the liberality of the citizens.

Near the tomb of Aldworth and the Elbridges, is an elegant monument to the memory of one of the Newtons, of Barr's Court. No pious descendants seem solicitous to preserve this monument from decay; while the adjoining tomb of Aldworth has been thrice repaired within a century. If any feeling be entitled to respect, it surely is that which induces us to preserve the tombs of our ancestors from dilapidation, and thus to evince our veneration for their memory and our desire to emulate their virtues. It should however be remembered that in repairing and beautifying monuments, as well as churches, the object should be to restore them as nearly as possible to their original state, that thus they may become testimonies of the taste or the skill of the age in which they were erected.

It has already been mentioned that the remains of Savage were deposited in St. Peter's church-yard.* The pen of Johnson has consecrated his name to immortality; but no frail memorial has been erected to "protect his bones from insult," or to preserve the memory of the spot in which they moulder from oblivion.

The church which is dedicated to the Saints Philip and Jacob is of some antiquity, and appears, like the church of St. James, to have been originally a chapel to a priory. This fact is mentioned incidentally by William of Worcester,† and the priory is conjectured to have belonged to religionists of the order of St. Benedict. Of the priory to which this church‡ was attached, the history has

* Vol. II. page 55.

+ Itin. de Wor. p. 247.

‡ The chancel of the present church is evidently more ancient than the body of the church, and has the appearance of having been a distinct and complete building. It is therefore highly probable that this was the ancient chapel of the priory.

altogether perished, and the name of the man to whose piety or munificence it owed its origin and the events of which it was probably the scene, are equally enveloped in impenetrable obscurity.

The members of the abbey of Tewkesbury having complained to their diocesan, the bishop of Worcester, that their hospitality to strangers had reduced them to comparative indigence, he appropriated to them the revenues of this church, that they might be the better able to exercise their usual liberality. They were, however, directed to provide for the celebration of religious worship in this church, in the same manner as it had been performed previously to their acquisition of its revenues.

Connected with the history of St. Philip's church, the following circumstance relative to Peter de la Mare, constable of Bristol castle, in 1279, deserves some degree of notice, because it peculiarly tends to illustrate the manners of the age in which it took place. It appeared that he had seized, and finally put to death, William de Lay, who had fled for refuge to the church-yard of St. Philip's. With what crime De Lay was charged no mention is made; but De La Mare was prosecuted in the ecclesiastical court of the bishopric of Worcester, for having violated the right of sanctuary, and thus infringed the privilege of the church. Being found guilty of this charge, he and his accomplices were sentenced to walk in procession from the church of the Friars Minor in Lewin's Mead to that of St. Philip and Jacob, on four market-days in four successive weeks, with naked backs, that they might receive discipline from the hands of the monks, the appropriate representatives of the violated dignity of holy church. La Mare was, moreover, enjoined to build a stone cross,* at the expence of at least one hundred

* William of Worcester mentions this cross thus: "*Altæ crucis prope fossam castri Bristoll.*" From which it would appear that the cross was erected in the vicinity of the castle.

shillings ; to furnish revenues for the feeding of one hundred poor around it on a certain day, annually ; and finally to provide, during his life, a priest for the celebration of mass in whatever place the bishop should appoint. Such were the pains and the penalties which insured implicit obedience to the burthensome impositions of a cruel and capricious superstition. But the day-star of science has dissipated the mists which concealed the deformity of every superstition that, arrogating for its votaries exclusive salvation, seems to inculcate a spirit of persecution ; because the period appears to be approaching, when the exercise of Christian philanthropy shall be the only bond of Christian union, and when there shall be no contention, except who shall be most active in disseminating virtue and happiness.

Among the monuments in St. Philip's church we found only one which appeared in any degree worthy of transcription, and even that derives its interest rather from the names it bears than from any other circumstance.

In remembrance
of
Her piety.
Filial obedience.
Conjugal affection,
Integrity of heart,
and
Amiability of manners,
This monument is erected
by
ISAAC ELTON the Younger, Esq.
To
SARAH, his Wife,
Daughter of Mr. Samuel Peach,
Merchant, of this city ;

Who died, universally lamented,
the 15th of December 1763,
In the 22d year of her age.

In memory also of the above-named
ISAAC ELTON, Esq.
Who departed this life, 31st March 1790,
Aged 51.

The church of St. Philip and Jacob contained two chauntries; one of which was founded by John Kemys, and the other by Robert Forthey. Of the biography of these individuals no particulars have been preserved; and these chauntries, which should have conferred perpetuity upon their memories, were sequestered in the reign of Edward the Sixth.

The present church of St. Thomas was finished in 1793, and was built upon the site of an ancient fabric which was dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr. It appears to have been a chapel of ease to Bedminster, from the period of its erection. This chapel is mentioned in authentic documents as early as the twelfth century, but no circumstances in its history, either instructive or interesting, have been preserved.

Among the eminent persons whose memories are associated with the ancient church of St. Thomas, the family of the Canynges deserves peculiar notice. It appears that the cemetery of the family was in the chapel of St. Mary, in St. Thomas church, previously to the completion of St. Mary Redcliffe. Here were buried William the grand-father, and John the father, of our distinguished Canynges. William died about the year 1398, and John in 1405. No monument to their memory has been mentioned; and if any was erected, it has not escaped the general destruction of these "frail memorials" which was occasioned by the rebuilding of the church.

The architecture of the present church contains little that will offend a correct taste, though it combines nothing to excite admiration. It is a specimen of what has been denominated the modern style of ecclesiastical architecture, and considered as a whole, may perhaps be appealed to as an example of the effect which that style is capable of producing, either in exciting those emotions of reverential awe which ought to be inseparably associated with the place consecrated to the worship of the Deity, or in awakening those feelings of devotion which, while they kindle in the soul the purest aspirations for moral excellence, communicate to it a foretaste of that felicity which is enjoyed by "the spirits of just men made perfect" in the regions of blessedness.

The monuments in St. Thomas' church are few; and among them the only inscription which we were prompted to transcribe is the following.

Sacred to the Memory
Of THOMAS BERJEW, late of the Parish of St. Nicholas,
Apothecary ;
Who adorned the purest Integrity of Heart
with a genuine
Simplicity of manners,
and the rectitude of whose life
gave the surest evidence
of the goodness of his principles.

This monument,
(an expressive testimony of her regret,)
is erected to the kindest husband,
relative and friend,
by his grateful widow.

In connexion with St. Thomas' church, it deserves observation that Sir Simon de Burton, who was probably the founder of the church of St. Mary Redcliffe,

is buried in an almhouse which he founded in its vicinity, and which still bears his name. This fact is mentioned by Leland, who says that “the almshouse by St. Thomas church is called Burton’s almhouse. Burton, mayor of the town, and founder, is buried in it.”* Few particulars in the biography of Burton have been preserved, and even those few, it is presumed, will be better narrated when we treat of the history of Redcliffe church.

Temple church derives its name from the Knights Templars, who were its founders, and who possessed considerable estates, with unbounded influence, in this part of Bristol.† This religious order of knights was instituted at Jerusalem in the beginning of the twelfth century, for the defence of the Holy Sepulchre, and for the protection of Christian pilgrims. They were first called ‘The Poor of the Holy City,’ and afterwards assumed the appellation of the Templars, because their house was near the Temple. The order was founded by Baldwin II. then king of Jerusalem, with the concurrence of the Pope. The principal articles of their rule were, “That they should hear the holy office throughout every day; or that when their military duties should prevent this, they should supply it by a certain number of paternosters; that they should abstain from flesh four days in the week, and on Fridays from eggs and milk-meats; and that they should neither hunt nor fowl.” Every knight was also obliged to have three horses, and was allowed one esquire.

After the ruin of the kingdom of Jerusalem, about 1186, they spread themselves through Germany and other countries of Europe, to which they were invited by the liberality of the Christians. In 1228, the order acquired stability by being confirmed in the council of Troyes, and subjected to a rule of discipline drawn up

* Leland, vol. vii. p. 89.

† History of Bristol, vol. ii. p. 58.

by St. Bernard. In every nation they had a particular governor, called **Master of the Temple**, or of the militia of the Temple. Their grand-master had his residence at Paris. They originally wore a white habit, with red crosses sewed upon their cloaks, as a mark of distinction.

The Order of the Templars flourished for some time, and acquired, by the valour of its knights, immense riches and an eminent degree of military renown; but as their prosperity increased, their vices were multiplied; and their arrogance, luxury, and cruelty, rose at last to such a monstrous height, that their privileges were revoked, and their order suppressed, with the most terrible circumstances of infamy and severity. This event took place in 1312. A part of the rich revenues they possessed was bestowed upon other orders, especially on the Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John, now of Malta; and the rest confiscated to the respective treasuries of the sovereign princes in whose dominions their possessions were situated.*

The period in which Temple church was founded is not determined, but it appears to have been built at different periods, and has been frequently repaired. The most ancient part of the present church seems to be the chapel at the extremity of the north aisle, in which is a tablet bearing the following inscription.

“ This chapel, and a piece of ground thereto belonging, granted in the reign of Edward the First, to the company of Weavers, for their use for ever, 1299.”

William of Worcester mentions Temple church in high terms of commendation; and from his cursory remarks it appears that the tower was built in 1460.†

* Encyclopedia Britannica, article ‘Templars.’

† Itin. de Wor. p. 228.

Brunius, who wrote about 1576,* mentions this church, and notices the inclination of its tower, which was ascertained in 1772 to be three feet nine inches from the perpendicular. This inclination has certainly no tendency to convey to the mind of the spectator an idea of stability; but since it has existed so long in its present state, there seems to be no reason for apprehending that it will suddenly tumble to ruin by any unexpected or violent concussion.

Among the monuments in Temple church, a tablet in the north aisle deserves notice, which bears this inscription.

Sacred to the memory
of the
Rev. JOSEPH EASTERBROOK,
Many years Vicar of this Parish,
and Ordinary of Newgate.
A faithful and laborious
Minister of the Gospel,
Whose life corresponded with his profession;
And having finished his course with joy,
Departed to his eternal rest,
On Friday, the 21st January, 1791,
In the 40th year of his age.
The Inhabitants of this Parish,
Desirous of transmitting to posterity
Their cordial esteem for a character
So worthy of imitation,
Have caused this Monument to be erected.

To the piety and the benevolence of Mr. Easterbrook's character, the general esteem and approbation of his contemporaries bear an honourable and an indu-

bitable testimony. It is true that the credulity which induced him to countenance the imposture of George Lukins, the pretended Demoniac, gave grounds to suspect a weakness of intellect, and rendered both his name and his character the object of ridicule. But it should also be remembered, that this was as much the credulity of the age as of the man;* and that it requires the exertion of a vigour of intellect conceded only to a few, to rise superior to the prejudices of education, and to be able to reject opinions which are held sacred by a vast majority of our contemporaries. That Mr. Easterbrook was not able to do this, is no reflection on his memory, which is still affectionately cherished by those who knew and appreciated his moral worth.

On the right of the entrance is a tablet bearing inscriptions which at once appeal to "all the soul of feeling," and which it is impossible to peruse without sympathising in the mourner's sorrow. The tablet is thus inscribed:

In a vault in the adjacent church-yard

are deposited the remains of

CÆCILIA ELWYN,

And of CÆCILIA ELEANOR, her daughter;

Cæcilia was the eldest daughter of Thomas Eagles, Esq. Collector of

the Customs of this port, and wife of William Brame Elwyn,

of Queen's College, Oxford, LL. D. Barrister at Law,

And at the time of her decease, Recorder of Deal, in Kent.

She died June 3d, 1811, aged 34.

Cæcilia Eleanor was their only child. She survived her mother

but nine days, and died in her 15th year.

Pulmonary disease was fatal to them both.

* On the subject of Demoniacal possessions, the reader will do well to consult Farmer's "Essay on the Demoniacs of the New Testament," a work in which erudition and patient research are combined with that candid liberality which unfortunately is so rarely found in theological controversy.

Ουκουν το δ' αἰσχρον εἰ βλέποντι μιν φίλῳ
 Χρῶμεσθ' ἐπεὶ δολῶλα με χρῶμεσθ' ἐτι.

EURIP. *Hec.*

Thou, of whose home some vestige here below
 Death yet has spared, amidst his waste of woe ;
 With whom some fond endearment stays and cheers
 A husband's sorrows, and a father's tears !
 Survey the story of this letter'd stone,
 And learn from larger grief to bear thy own.
 To thee, perhaps, some tender child has proved
 A living emblem of a wife beloved—
 Inspir'd new hopes as years were stealing on,
 Nor left thee here unsolac'd, and alone—
 Won from thy heart despair's o'erwhelming gloom,
 And brought with smiles her mother from the tomb.

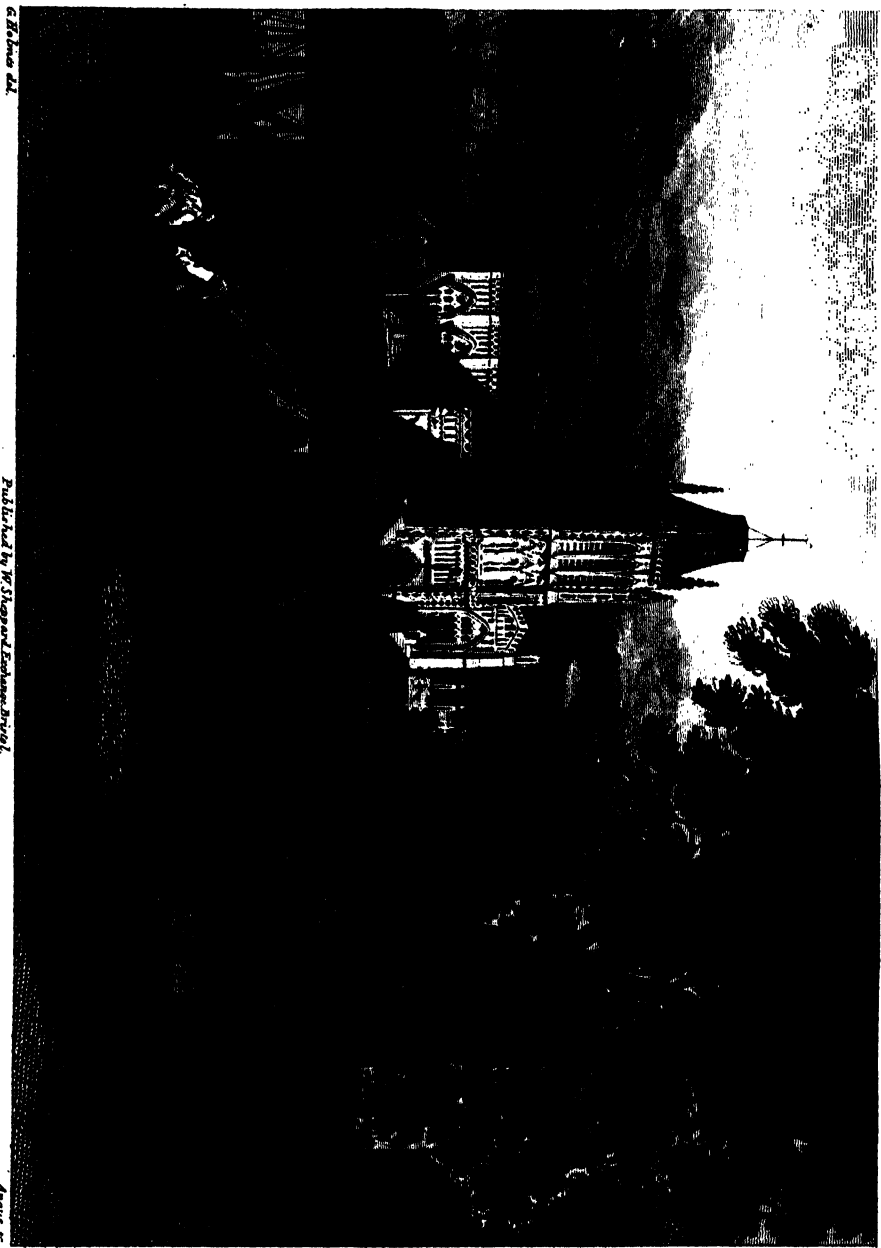
But, O beloved ! to you my thoughts return,
 You, once their fondest objects—still their bourn.
 The world may call that cherish'd feeling vain,
 Which leaves recorded here a private pain,
 Seeks from remoter days a stranger's sigh,
 And asks some future father's sympathy ;
 Yet he, that mourns his home for ever gone,
 Finds ease and solace from this faithful stone.
 To Her 'tis due, who from her own short skein
 Wound many a thread to soothe her Daughter's pain,
 Who in death's grasp a mother's toils supplied,
 And, trembling for her dying patient, died.
 Heaven's best reward on Earth repaid this care,
 Bestow'd on life's last hour, peace, hope, and prayer.
 To thee too due, my Child ! in whose pure mind
 Truth dwelt with early Piety enshrin'd,
 Faith stript of terror the Destroyer's hour,
 And, as warm summer ripens spring's weak flower,

Open'd thy worth, inspir'd Devotion's flame,
 And breathing fervour o'er thy wasted frame,
 Sublim'd thy virtues :—Heaven approv'd, and gave
 A light beyond the darkness of the grave.

No church in Bristol, perhaps none in the kingdom, has greater claims to the attention of the topographer and the historian than that of St. Mary Redcliffe. Its antiquity, the beauty of its architecture, and the interesting circumstances connected with its history, entitle it to peculiar notice. But Redcliffe church is also associated with the enterprises of genius, for its name has been blended with the reputation of Rowley, of Canynge, and of Chatterton. It is therefore always visited with enthusiasm by the lover of poetry and the admirer of art; and when the interesting fabric shall have mouldered into ruins, even those will be trodden with veneration, as sacred to the recollection of genius of the highest order.

Redcliffe church has consequently been the subject of no ordinary degree of attention. Its history has exercised the ability of men of letters, and its architectural beauties have employed the skill of some of the most eminent in the arts. Among these, Britton, for his “ Historical and Architectural Essay, relative to Redcliffe Church,” has deserved well of every lover of ecclesiastical architecture. This Essay is an invaluable addition to the topography of Bristol, and highly honourable to the taste, skill, and ability of its author. From his work* we have extracted the particulars of our narrative; and to it we refer our readers for more extended information in respect to Redcliffe church.

* ‘ An Historical and Architectural Essay, relating to Redcliffe Church, Bristol; illustrated with Plans, Views and Architectural Details; including an Account of the Monuments and Anecdotes of the Eminent Persons interred within its walls; also, an Essay on the Life and Character of Thomas Chatterton. By J. Britton, F. S. A. London, 1813.’

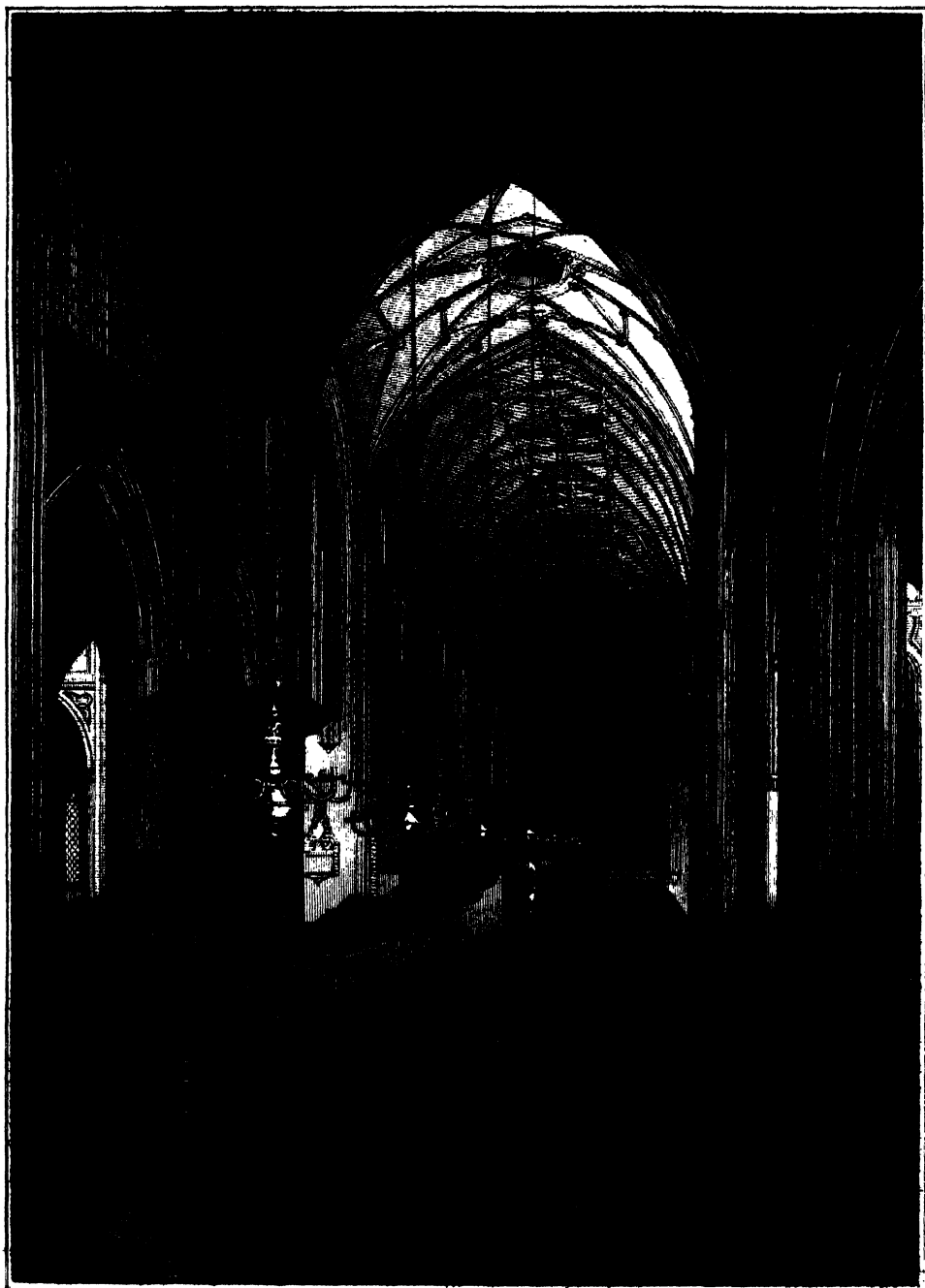


G. H. Jones del.

Published by W. Stimpert & Co., Bristol.

Angus sc.

ST. MARY REDCLIFF,
seen from the Back.



E. Ford delin.

Published by John Applegate, Broadmead, Bristol.

R. Brown sculp.

*A View of the Interior of the Church of-
St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol.*

Redcliffe, according to Barrett,* is proved by many "ancient deeds" to have been a parish of great antiquity, and originally formed part (as it does at present) of the manor of Bedminster.†

Notwithstanding the deeds to which he thus refers were in all probability the gift of Chatterton, yet, as some of those documents are quoted in the original Latin, and as the evidence of Chatterton's deceptions does not apply to any of these authorities in particular, their authenticity cannot justly be disputed. "Radcliff," says Camden,‡ "a little suburb, was joined to the city by a stone-bridge so thick set with houses, that it seemed a street rather than a bridge. This part is inclosed within the walls, and the inhabitants are free of the city."

He immediately adds, "Among the fairest of churches, is St. Mary de Redcliffe, without the walls, with a grand ascent of steps; the whole so spacious and well built, with an arched roof of stone, and a lofty steeple, as to exceed, in my opinion, all the parish churches of England that I have seen."

Leland says, that "St. Sprite's chapell, in Radclef church-yard, was ons a paroche afore the building of Radclyfe new church;"§ and William of Worcester, who was a native of Bristol, and lived in the time of Henry VI. calls St. Sprite's

* History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol, p. 566.

† The ecclesiastical history of Redcliffe may be considered peculiar, if not truly singular. It constituted a part, or member, of the parish of Bedminster, is in the diocese of Bristol, and is a prebend to the cathedral of Salisbury. This prebend comprehends Redcliffe, with the parishes of Bedminster, Abbots' Leigh, and St. Thomas, adjoining Redcliffe; yet the parochial regulations and ordinances are held distinct and separate from each other, and each is governed by its own church-wardens, &c. The living of Bedminster is both a rectory and a vicarage, and, as prebend, the incumbent is patron of all the other livings. He is nominated by the bishop of Salisbury. The ecclesiastical edifice of Redcliffe is also of a peculiar nature and description: it is easier to name it negatively than positively, for it is not strictly either a parish church, conventual church, collegiate church, cathedral church, or chapel.

‡ Gough's edition of Camden's Britannica, vol. i. p. 63. ed. 1791.

§ Itinerary, vol. vii. p. 36. Barrett supposes that St. Sprite's chapel was also called "Lamyngton's Lady Chapel."

“ an ancient chapel, near Redcliffe church.” It appears very certain, that an ancient religious edifice was standing on or near the site of the present church, anterior to the erection of the present building.

Several grants of land towards repairing the original structure, are referred to by Barrett, as being in his own possession: and indulgences were issued by different bishops, on condition that the persons to whom they were granted would “ devoutly visit the church of the blessed Mary of Radcliffe, in Bristol, and there charitably contribute towards the repair of the same, and pray for the souls of those there interred.” The indulgences are by John, Bishop of Ardfert, dated at Bristol, 1232 :—Peter Quivell, Bishop of Exeter, dated at “ Radclyve,” 1287 ;—David, Archbishop of Cassel, dated at Bristol in 1246 ;—Christianus Episcopus Hymelacensis, dated at Bristol, 1246 ;—and Robert, Bishop of Bath and Wells, dated 1278. All these documents are said to have been found in Canynge’s chests ; and notwithstanding they were the gift of Chatterton to Barrett, their number, the difficulties that would have prevented their execution by the want of specific evidence to their fabrication ; and their coincidence with other documents, to which it does not appear that Chatterton had access, are in favour of their reception as genuine authorities.

The foundation of the Great Church, erected on the site of the one thus mentioned, is ascribed by all parties to Simon de Burton,* who, previously to the commencement of the building, in 1292, had been advanced to the mayoralty of Bristol three times, and enjoyed that dignity twice afterwards ; viz. in the years 1304 and 1305.† When another writer therefore, on this subject‡ ascribes the

* Leland, though he mentions Burton as founder of an alm’s house, in which he was buried, does not allude to his foundation of the present church.

† MS. in Bib. Bodl. “ History of the famous City of Bristol, by James Stewart.” MS. 1733.—Gough’s Collection, Oxford MSS. by Hobson, quoted by Barrett.

‡ Hist. Bristol, MS. in the possession of the Rev. T. Dudley Fosbrooke.

foundation of the church to William Canynge, he confounds the completion of the building with its original erection. It appears that William Canynge, senior, the Mayor of Bristol, completed "the body of Redcliffe church from the cross aisle downwards, and so the church was finished as it now is ;"* and as this was seventy-five years after the dedication of Burton's church, it may be considered to be the finishing of what had been begun and partly accomplished by its founder. It was customary, at that time, for the builder of a church to begin at the east end, or choir-part ; which, when finished, was consecrated, and the remainder was gradually prosecuted, either by the original projector or his immediate successors.

Several Wills are mentioned by Barrett, as dated about 1380, in which money is given "for the fabric, and towards repairing the church of Redcliffe:" and among others, that of John Muleward mentions a gift in money, *Ad opus Beatae Mariæ de Radcleve*:—"To the work of the blessed Mary of Redcliffe;" which Barrett justly regards as a proof that the work was going on at that time. The subsequent re-edification of the church by the grandson of the William Canynge who first completed it, is involved in much obscurity. Among Mr. Fosbrooke's MSS. is one, stating that in "1441, William Cannings, who was mayor this year, with the help of others, of the worshipful town of Bristow, kept masons and workmen to repair and edifye, cover and glaze the church of Redcliffe, which his grandfather had founded in the reign of Edward the Third."† Stewart coincides with this statement, except with regard to the date, which is one year later. A manuscript, quoted by Barrett, agrees with Stewart as to the date of 1442, in which year Canynge was mayor of Bristol. A manuscript in the Bodleian Library informs us that "the said church having suffered much in a tempest, the above-mentioned William Canynge, a celebrated merchant and public benefactor, in the

* Barrett, *Hist.* p. 569.

† MS. Collections for Bristol. See also Barrett, p. 570.

year 1474,* gave five hundred pounds to the parishioners of Redcliffe, towards repairing the church, and for the maintenance of two chaplains, and two clerks in St. Mary's chapel there, and of two chantry priests." The words of Barrett are, "the same plan was observed by him in rebuilding and restoring to its original beauty, after being thrown down by lightning. The south aisle, where the mischief fell heaviest, seems to have been rebuilt with a somewhat more elevated arch, and in a lighter style than the north; a difference also is between the windows of the north and south aisle."†

From these various statements it would appear, that Canynge having begun and nearly completed the re-edification of the church, his labours were rendered almost useless by the effect of lightning; and that about the year 1445, he repaired the damages, and nearly restored it to the state in which it stood previously to the tempest that threatened its destruction. Barrett says, "that from a deed in Latin by Canynge, dated 6th Edward IV. it appears he founded, in that year, the chantry of St. Catherine in this church."‡

Such is the brief, but very imperfect history of a structure, which it is impossible to contemplate without a powerful impression of the omnipotence of poetical genius. Whether Chatterton, or a priest in the reign of Edward IV. was the author of *Ælla*, and of several other similar poems, the church of Redcliffe itself, the monuments it contains, and the scenery that surrounds it, owe much of their attraction and interest, to their association with these writings. The tomb of Canynge might have remained the subject of solitary examination to the occasional visitor, had not his name been coupled with that of the real or supposed author of these extraordinary compositions; and though the architectural beauties of the

* In Barrett it is dated 1415.

† Hist. Bristol. p. 571.

‡ Hist. Bristol, p. 571.

structure might have excited the partial and occasional admiration of the professional student, or the lover of the arts ; it is owing to the manuscripts of Rowley, or to the materials of their fabrication, that it has become the object of interesting contemplation to the literary world, and has awakened the enquiries, and exercised the talents, of a Miller, a Bryant, a Warton, a Mathias, and a Southey.

The superstructure of the whole church displays three distinct and different eras of architecture. The middle north porch is certainly the oldest portion, and this corresponds in its pilaster-columns, arches, and mouldings, with the buildings of the thirteenth century. At this age, it appears, that Simon de Burton lived, and was engaged, in 1292, either in constructing a new church or “re-edifying” a former building. Here then we find a part of the edifice, (though certainly only a very small part) correspond with a specific date.

Of a subsequent age and style are the tower and grand northern porch, in both of which we recognise a later species of architecture ; while the tracery of the ceilings, the niches, and numerous mouldings, are of much more enriched and elaborate characters than the former specimen. These parts were probably raised in the reign of Edward III. by William Canynge, senior.*

In the finishing of the nave, choir, and transepts, we must look for the works of William Canynge, Jun. the rich merchant of Bristol, and dean of Westbury ; but here the style is not so strictly in unison with the era. Still, however, we must contemplate the greater part of the church as the workmanship of his time. A more decorated species of architectural design is shewn in the entrance door-way to the vestry ; and also in Sir Thomas Medes’ monument in the north aisle, the latter of which was probably raised about the year 1486.

* He is recorded member for Bristol in the years 1364, 1383, and 1384. Barrett’s History, p. 151.

Near the south-west angle of the church is a large stone coffin, with a statue in demi-relief on the lid, and beneath it two words in old characters, which Barrett reads, “*Joannes Lamington.*” This coffin was placed here in 1766, having been discovered under the west window of St. Sprite’s chapel, which formerly stood close to the church, and was demolished at that period. Upon first opening the coffin, the solid parts of the body retained their natural position in a perfect manner, but on being touched they immediately crumbled to dust.

John Lamington is mentioned in Barrett’s list of vicars, as having been chaplain of this church in 1393. The same author hazards a conjecture, but upon what grounds he does not state, that St. Sprite’s chapel was called Lamington’s Lady-chapel, before it received its subsequent appellation from the fraternity of the Holy Ghost, to which society the use of it is said to have been granted in 1383, by the principal or master of the hospital of St. John.*

Near the western entrance is a flat stone with a cross and two words upon it, which are almost obliterated. Several fragments of other flat grave stones, with defaced inscriptions, constitute part of the pavement of the western end of the church, some of them apparently of more ancient date, even than any part of the present edifice.

At the southern extremity of the transept are several monuments of peculiar interest ; of which the first is a plain altar tomb ; supporting the recumbent figure of a man in sacerdotal robes, with a large scrip, or pocket, attached to the left side. An angel is placed at his head, and a dog, with a large bone in his paws, at his feet. There is no inscription upon it, to mark decidedly the person to

* Barrett’s History, p. 596.

whose memory this monument has been erected. Mr. Cole states it to be a *third* tomb to William Canynge; tradition, however, assigns it to his purse-bearer.*

Under a large canopy beneath the centre window, is an altar tomb of stone supporting the recumbent effigies of a man and a woman. The first is dressed in mayor's robes, and the second according to the fashion of the times. The inscription, on the back of this tomb is as follows :

“ WILLIAM CANNINGS, y^e richest Merchant of y^e towne of Bristow, afterwards chosen 5 times Mayor of y^e said towne, for the good of the Commonwealth of the same: he was in order of priesthood 7 years, and afterwards Dean of Westbury, and died the 7th Novem. 1474, which said William did build, within the said town of Westbury, a college (with his canons,) and the said William did maintain by space of 8 years, 800 handycraftsmen, besides carpenters and masons, every day 100 men. Besides, King Edward the IVth. had of the said William, 3000 marks for his Peace to be had in 2470 tons of shipping.

“ These are the names of his shipping and their burthens :—The Mary Canynges, 400 tons ; The Mary & John, 900 ; The Kathrine, 140 ; The Little Nicholas, 140 ; The Kathrine of Boston, 220 ; The Mary Redcliff, 500 ; The Galliot, 050 ; The Mary Batt, 220 ; The Margaret, 200 ; A Ship in Ireland, 100.

“ No age, no time, can wear out well-won fame,
The stones themselves a stately work doth shew,
From senseless grave we ground may men's good name,
And noble minds by ventrous deeds we know.

* The opinion of Mr. Cole on this subject is extremely doubtful, as it seems very improbable that the same individual should have three distinct monuments, all immediately adjoining to each other. The traditional account, on the other hand, most likely approximates to the truth, for though it may not be the monument of the purse-bearer, it is certainly the monument of some person intimately connected with Canynge. If the existence of such a person, as Thomas Rowley, a priest, and the confidential friend of that distinguished character, could be fully ascertained, I should have little hesitation in ascribing it to him. It is, however, certain that Thomas Fowley, a *merchant*, was interred in St. John's Church, in Bristol, where a brass tablet commemorates his name and memory. Cole's MSS. in the British Museum, vol. x. p. 51.

A lanterne cleere settis forth a candeale light ;
 A worthy act declares a worthy wight ;
 The buildings rare, that here you may behold,
 To shrine his bones deserve a tomb of gold.
 The famous fabricke, which he here hath donne,
 Shines in its sphere as glorious as the Sunne ;
 What needs more words, the future world he sought,
 And set the pomp and pride of this at nought :
 Heaven was his aim, let Heaven still be his station,
 That leaves such work for others' imitation."

Near this is an altar-tomb on which lies the effigy of a man in priest's robes. The head is shaven, and the hands are raised, as if in the act of devotion. This monument is commonly ascribed to William Canynge, as Dean of Westbury. The head, however, is very different to that on the other tomb; and both have the appearance of being portraits. This presents a very extraordinary face: a long aquiline nose; a narrow projecting chin; high cheek-bones, and very thin cheeks, combine to produce a very singular countenance. At the feet of this statue is the small figure of a man, apparently in great bodily agony, which is a very unusual occurrence. A Latin inscription, on a loose board, is sometimes attached to this tomb. This inscription assigns the tomb to Canynge, but as it is sometimes attached to the monument last described, as well as this, it cannot be considered of any authority.

Affixed to a column nearly opposite the tomb of Canynge and his lady, is a neat monument, with a Latin inscription, to the memory of Maria, the wife of William Barrett, F. S. A. and author of "The History and Antiquities of Bristol." Mr. Barrett was a man of some learning, and of considerable research. He appears to have devoted the leisure of twenty years of his life to the collecting of materials for his History of Bristol, and every facility seems to have been afforded

to his inquiries both by public bodies and by individuals. The mass of materials which he collected appears to have been not only immense, but highly valuable. Mr. Barrett, however, was deficient both in judgment to select from this mass, and taste to arrange and elucidate what he determined to employ. Under these circumstances it can excite no surprise that the "History" disappointed the expectations which had been formed respecting it, and that to read it has been considered a task which few have the courage to accomplish.

Many of the papers which Mr. Barrett had collected were left to Mr. Gapper; those relating to Chatterton were disposed of to the Rev. Mr. Kerrick, of Cambridge, for Dr. Glynn, and were afterward deposited in the British Museum. Sir John Smyth, of Long Ashton, purchased some MSS. at the sale of Mr. Barrett's effects.

At the eastern end of the north aisle, is a very handsome monument, consisting of an altar-tomb, surmounted by a richly ornamented canopy. Recumbent on the former are effigies of the deceased and his wife, with their heads resting on cushions, and having two figures of angels supporting the pillow. The plinth of the tomb, as well as the back and sides, are covered with panneling and tracery. Immediately over the tomb, are five crocketed canopies, with pinnacles, &c. and the whole is surmounted with a richly sculptured frieze and parapet. From the imperfect inscription which still remains, it appears, that this monument is dedicated to the memory of Thomas Mede, who was sheriff of Bristol in 1452, and subsequently thrice Mayor of that city. He had a country-seat at Nayland, then called Mede's Place, in the parish of Wraxall and county of Somerset.

Attached to the former monument, and of the same style and character, but without any effigy, is another to the memory of Philip Mede, the brother of Thomas

Mede, whose monument has just been described. He appears to have been several times Mayor of Bristol, and to have represented the City in two parliaments, held at Coventry, and at Westminster, in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Henry the Sixth. His will is dated Jan. 11th, 1471, and directs his body to be buried at the altar of St. Stephen, in Redcliffe Church.

A small marble slab, at the north-east angle of the transept, is inscribed with the following lines from the pen of Mrs. H. More.

“ Near this pillar are deposited the remains of Mrs. FORTUNE LITTLE, widow of Mr. John Little, late of this parish. She died June 28, 1777. Aged 57.

“ Oh! could this verse her bright example spread,
And teach the living while it praised the dead ;
Then, reader ! should it speak her hope divine,
Not to record *her* faith, but strengthen thine ;
Then should her ev'ry virtue stand confess'd,
"Till ev'ry virtue kindled in thy breast.
But, if thou slight the monitory strain,
And she has lived to thee, at least, in vain,
Yet let her death an awful lesson give :
The dying Christian speaks to all that live.
Enough for her, that here her ashes rest,
"Till God's own plaudit shall her worth attest.

HANNAH MORE.

The Rev. Thomas Broughton was buried in the north aisle of this church, in December 1774. He was born in London, July 1704. Bishop Sherlock presented him with the living and prebendship of Bedminster and Redcliffe. He was one of the original writers in the Biographia Britannica, the author of a musical drama, entitled “ Hercules,” and the Compiler of a Dictionary of All Religions. A plain marble tablet is erected to his memory in the chancel, near the altar.

Attached to a column in the south transept is a flat slab, with a long inscription, from which we learn that it commemorates Sir William Penn, father of the illustrious founder of Pennsylvania. The column itself is adorned with banners and with armour. These may be appropriate emblems on the grave of the warrior, of which the sky is the canopy; but here they are evidently misplaced; for they seem to profane the temple which is dedicated to the service of the God of Peace.

At the east-end, over the altar, are three large pictures* by Hogarth,† representing the following sacred subjects, viz.—1. *The Ascension of Christ*—2. *The High-Priest and Servants sealing the Tomb*—3. *The Three Marys at the Sepulchre*.

It is incompatible with the constitution of man and the qualifications of genius, to excel in different branches of art, or to acquire positive preeminence in two distinct departments of science. The productions of Hogarth, among those of several other justly famed artists, serve to illustrate this maxim. In pictures of comic character, rich humour and moral satire, and particularly in displaying the human figure and countenance in its common and popular forms, he certainly excelled all other painters. Many of his pictures were also executed in a masterly style of colouring, grouping and effect. Like the generality of artists, he was occasionally required to paint subjects from ancient and sacred history; but he

* These were hung up in the church in the year 1757, and are said to have cost 500 guineas, besides the frames. The lofty eastern window is closed up for the purpose of hanging the largest of these paintings.

† More volumes and essays have been published respecting Hogarth and his works, than of any other ancient or modern artist. Almost every picture that he painted and sketch that he made, has been circulated by means of the graver. He commenced this practice himself, and engraved many of his own pictures. Since his death, both John and Samuel Ireland, Dr. Trusler, Cook, and Nichols, have published numerous annotations on his works, and prints from every subject they could collect. It is singular that only one of the three pictures at Redcliffe has been copied and noticed in these publications; and it is equally singular that this print (in John Ireland's *Illustrations*) is so inaccurately copied, that it appears as if done from memory rather than after the painting.

then wandered out of his element, and at once betrayed a want of judgment and taste. In the three pictures at Redcliffe church this is exemplified: as specimens of colouring, however, they possess much merit, and may be viewed with advantage by the young artist; but in the forms and expression of the figures, and in their attitudes and grouping, we seek in vain for propriety, dignity, or elegance. Immediately over the altar-table is a painting representing *Jesus restoring to Life the daughter of Jairus*, by Henry Tresham, R. A. presented in 1792 to the church by the painter's uncle, Sir Clifton Wintringham, Bart.

Thus have we finished our historical and descriptive notices of the several churches of Bristol. With these have been combined biographical notices of such eminent individuals as are connected with the history of the respective churches. We must not, however, conclude this chapter, without noticing a topic so intimately connected with their history, as their numerous benefactions. The amount of these benefactions it would be difficult, if not impossible, to conjecture; but it must be presumed that they are all applied with the most scrupulous exactness to the respective purposes of charity for which they are intended. It would be well, if in all cases of trust of this kind, printed statements were annually distributed, by which all who felt interested in the subject might inform themselves, without appearing to act invidiously, of the application of the property which is intended for the alleviation of poverty or for any other purposes of public utility. The men who shall effect this improvement, both in parishes and in corporate bodies, will merit civic crowns for their patriotism and their philanthropy.

Of these and similar charities we think that they create the poverty which they are intended to relieve. They are bounties to indolence and to imprudence. If the wretchedness of poverty be ever annihilated, the poor themselves must combine for its extermination. They will combine for this object when they know

that they must depend principally upon themselves ; when they have been taught to think and to compare ; when they have learned the necessity of foresight, and have been trained to habits of order, of industry, and of economy. When this is accomplished, the wretchedness of poverty will be annihilated, and the benefaction-boards in our churches will become useless ; or they will merely be referred to as indubitable proofs of the comparative barbarism of an age that prided itself upon the advances which it had made in civilization.

CHAPTER THE SEVENTH.

VOL. II.

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CONTENTS.

Sketch of the origin and progress of the Commerce and Manufactures of Bristol—Slave-Trade—Commerce in the reign of Henry II.—Notice of Harding—Woollen-Manufacture Notice of Blanket—Trade of Canynge—Notice of Robert Strange—Voyage of Cabot—Trade in 1526—Manufacture of Soap, Pins, and Stockings—of Brass, Copper, and Zinc—Notice of Champion—Present Manufactures—Domestic Commerce—Foreign Commerce—Conclusion.

CHAPTER THE SEVENTH.

THE situation of Bristol and the natural advantages of its port and harbour, rendered it a place of considerable commerce at an early period of its history. The record of its early commerce indeed is in unison with the barbarism of the age in which it took place. It is stated in the *Life of Wulstan** to have been a mart for slaves from all parts of England, who are said to have been daily exposed for sale in the public markets. That such should have been the traffic of any city in 1090, is sufficiently disgraceful; but that in the eighteenth century such a traffic should not only have been practised, but defended, will, to posterity seem almost incredible. But, thanks to the progress of the mild spirit of civilization and philanthropy, that traffic is not only abolished, so far as Great Britain is concerned, but it is declared infamous and illegal. Britain too stipulates for its universal abolition: she makes it an article in her treaties of peace and alliance, “**THAT THE SLAVE-TRADE SHALL, IF POSSIBLE, BE ABOLISHED.**”†.

* *Anglia Sacra*, 2, 258.

† “**Denmark to do all in her power to abolish the Slave Trade,**” was one of the articles in the *Definitive Treaty of Peace and Alliance* between Great Britain and that country, signed on the 14th of January, 1814. A similar article was also inserted in the treaty between Portugal and this country, signed at Rio Janeiro, and negotiated by Lord Strangford.

It appears, from William of Malmshury, as quoted by Lord Lyttleton, that in the reign of Henry II. "Bristol was full of ships from Ireland, Norway, and every part of Europe, which brought hither great commerce and much foreign wealth."* Of the articles which constituted this commerce no mention has been made, and therefore it would be useless to conjecture. It however deserves notice, that among those who essentially contributed to this comparative commercial prosperity of Bristol, at that early period, was Harding, descendant of a king of Denmark, and father of Robert Fitzharding, the founder of St. Augustine's monastery.† Harding was made governor of Bristol in 1066, and died about the year 1115. He appears to have resided in Baldwin-street, and to have engaged in mercantile transactions to a considerable extent for the age in which he flourished.

From the commencement of the twelfth century to the reign of Edward the Third, the commerce of Bristol does not appear to have made any very considerable progress, nor to have suffered any material interruption. In this reign, the enterprise and industry of the inhabitants took a new direction, and to the character of merchant was now added that of manufacturer. This change was effected by the introduction of the woollen-manufacture into England, and by the activity with which the citizens embarked in the business. This alteration took place about the year 1340. The manufactories were principally situated in Tucker and Temple Streets; and among those who particularly distinguished themselves as manufacturers, was Thomas Blanket, who has been already mentioned as the individual who first manufactured the article which still preserves and will probably perpetuate the name of **BLANKET**.‡ The woollen-manufacture long continued to flourish in Bristol; but the difference in the price of labour operating with other causes, has long since removed it to the North.

* Life of Henry II.

† Vol. II. p. 78.

‡ Vol. II. p. 134.

The commerce and manufactures of Bristol appear to have made a considerable progress during the next century, about the middle of which flourished the celebrated Canynge. This extraordinary man employed 2853 tons of shipping* and 800 mariners, during the space of eight years. He appears to have carried on an extensive trade with Ireland, Denmark, Dantzic, and the nations on the shores of the Baltic. From this extensive commerce, Canynge not only derived wealth, but a high degree of consideration; and peculiar attention was paid to him by the most powerful men of the age. This appears from two recommendatory letters by Henry VI. in 1449, of which one is addressed to the Master-General of Prussia, and the other to the magistrates of Dantzic. In these letters, the king styles Canynge "his beloved eminent merchant of Bristol;" and their object is to request all possible favour and countenance for two of his agents, who then resided in Prussia.† In the following year Canynge was exempted by the king of Denmark from a prohibition, which he issued to England, of trading with certain parts of that monarch's dominions. This indulgence to our distinguished merchant was sanctioned by the approbation of the king and parliament of England; and he was allowed to employ two vessels in this trade during the space of the two ensuing years. Canynge died in 1474, in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

Many of the contemporaries of Canynge were excited, by his success, to emulate the spirit of enterprize of which he had given them so splendid an example. Among these, Robert Strange acquired great distinction. In 1459, a ship laden with spices and other valuable productions of the east was plundered in the Mediterranean by the Genoese. This vessel was the property of Mr. Strange, and was valued at nine thousand marks. When this act of violence was known

* For the names of these ships and their respective burthens, see Vol. II. p. 209.

† Rymer's Fædera, p. 226, and Barrett's History, p. 169.

in England, Henry VI. seized the property of such Genoese merchants as resided in London; which was detained, under a threat of confiscation, till full restitution was made for the capture. This decided and spirited act of justice seems to have produced the desired effect, and not only deterred the Genoese from repeating similar aggressions, but from interrupting in any way the commerce of England in the Mediterranean. After this event, Mr. Strange appears to have engaged extensively in that commerce. It is however certain that he was thrice advanced to the dignity of first magistrate in Bristol, and evinced the benevolence of his disposition by founding the alms-house which at present bears the name of St. John. Robert Strange probably died about the year 1491.

When the talents and perseverance of Columbus had given another world to that spirit of adventure which had then begun to exhibit itself, the merchants of Bristol became eminently conspicuous among those who were anxious to share both in the glory and advantages of the new discoveries.* In 1494 they prepared a fleet for this purpose, the command of which was bestowed upon John Cabot, who was to be accompanied by his sons Lewis, Sanctius, and the distinguished Sebastian. The result of this voyage was the discovery of Newfoundland; and on the return of the Cabots to Bristol, was laid the foundation of a commerce which has proved highly advantageous to the city.

In 1497 another fleet was fitted out from Bristol, the command of which was conferred upon Sebastian Cabot. In this voyage he revisited the former discovery of Newfoundland, and sailed as high as the 67th degree of north latitude; then shaping his course southerly, he explored the whole coast of North America as far down as the 38th degree of latitude. This part of the continent he expressly

* For a more detailed account of the voyages of discovery which were engaged in about this period, the reader is referred to *Hacklitt's Voyages*; of which a new edition has been recently published.

says was afterwards named Florida.* Consequently, Cabot was the first who discovered the continent of America ; as Columbus did not fall in with it till the following year. Contemporaries with Cabot were Elliot, Ashurst, Guy, and Thorne. In 1502 Elliot and Ashurst obtained letters patent for embarking in a voyage of discovery. Elliot was ranked among the most eminent navigators of his age, though it does not appear that he made any considerable additions to the discoveries of Cabot.

John Guy was the first who colonized Newfoundland.† He seems to have possessed not only a spirit of daring adventure, but also of prudence and perseverance. Those who accompanied him in his expedition are represented to have been persons of character and industry, and consequently were peculiarly qualified to encounter the difficulties which are inseparable from the infant state of a colony. Thus the inhabitants of Bristol obtained the distinction of being among the first, if not the first, who planted colonies on the American Continent. Of Robert Thorne it has already been stated that he was the first Englishman who set the example of forming a commercial settlement in the new world.‡ By the talents and exertions of these distinguished citizens, the commerce of Bristol was not only greatly extended, but a solid foundation was laid for those extensive mercantile transactions which have subsequently been the source of its wealth, and of its relative importance among the cities of Great Britain.

It appears from Hackluit,§ that before the year 1526, as well as at that

* Some account of the discoveries of Cabot is contained in the *Life of Henry VII.* by Lord Bacon ; a work which the reader who wishes for more ample information on the subject will do well to consult.

† *Stowe's Chronicle*, continued by Howes.

‡ Vol. i p. 221, in a note.

§ *Hackluit's Voyages*, vol. ii. p. 302.

period, the merchants of Bristol had engaged in a commerce to the Canaries, by means of vessels from St. Lucar in Spain. From the same author we also learn that in this trade the exports were principally cloth and soap, which were probably manufactured in the city; and that the imports were chiefly materials for dying, drugs, kid-skins, and sugar. It seems also, that agents from the merchants of Bristol were sent to Spain to transact their business in that country; and consequently considerable intercourse must have existed, even at that early period, between the city and the peninsula of Spain and Portugal.

While the city was thus extending its commerce, it by no means appears to have neglected its manufactures. In 1523 it seems to have added to its woollen-manufacture that of soap on a very extensive scale, and in the several varieties of white, speckled, and grey. In 1581, manufactories for pins and for stockings were also established; and thus the city possessed the means of carrying on an extensive traffic at home, in addition to its foreign commerce.

How long these manufactures continued to flourish extensively in Bristol we have not the means of ascertaining; but to these were added, in the beginning of the last century, the brass-manufactory at Baptist-Mills; where the first brass made in England was manufactured in 1705. The workmen who were employed in this manufactory were brought hither from Holland; a country which, till that period, preserved the reputation which it had acquired by its skill in various branches of manufactures; and in teaching these manufactures to the rest of Europe, Holland obtained an honourable distinction. Copper was first made in England by Sir Simon Clark, whose assayists, Messrs. Coster and Wayne, established a copper-manufactory near Bristol, in conjunction with Sir Abraham Elton. Zinc was manufactured in the vicinity of Bristol by Mr. Champion, in 1743, and was afterwards carried to the greatest perfection by Mr. Emerson, who

obtained a patent for making brass, zinc, and copper. Bishop Watson, in his *Chemical Essays*, says, that "The zinc made by Mr. Emerson is whiter and brighter than any other, either English or foreign; and his brass is said to be more malleable, more beautiful, and of a colour more resembling gold than ordinary brass." The manufactory was at Hanham, on the banks of the Avon, about two miles from Bristol.

Of Mr. Champion, who preceded Mr. Emerson as the manufacturer of zinc, mention has before been made, in the sketch of the origin and progress of the recent improvements in the harbour; and, therefore, he seems to deserve here a brief notice. Mr. Champion is represented to have been a man of great activity of mind, and is generally mentioned as a constant projector; a character which ought to be uniformly contemplated with respect and with pity. Respect is due to such a character, because society owes to it many obligations, and much of the progress of the useful arts must be ascribed to its existence. This character, however, deserves pity, because the indulgence of a disposition for projecting is not only unfriendly to the interests of the individual, but has frequently precipitated its unfortunate possessor from prosperity or competence into all the wretchedness of penury. What influence this disposition, which is imputed to Mr. Champion, had in his case, we neither know nor have we enquired. Respect for the character of a man, who seems to have been an enthusiast in promoting any scheme of which the object was the improvement of the city, prompted this tribute to his ardent spirit of enterprize. If it should be the means of exciting in others a similar enthusiasm, let the effects which this may produce be the monuments to his memory.

Among the present manufactures of Bristol, that of glass, in the several varieties of crown, flint, and bottle-glass, is entitled to the first notice. The principal glass-houses are, for crown-glass, in the parish of Saint Philip and Jacob; for flint-

ss, at Temple-Gate; and for bottles, in the Hotwell-Road. At all of these considerable quantities are manufactured; but we have been informed that the supply has been considerably diminished by the recent state of American and European politics. Of the articles manufactured in glass, great quantities are exported to Ireland, the West-Indies, and to British America, particularly of bottles, as nearly one half the number made are sent out filled with porter, beer, cider, perry, and Hotwell-water.

The refined sugars of Bristol are generally considered of superior quality, and large quantities are exported to Ireland; besides which, the whole of South Wales, and nearly all the counties of the West of England, are supplied with refined sugars from Bristol. The shot made in Bristol has obtained some degree of celebrity, and was manufactured under a patent,* as are also copper-nails for the sheathing of vessels; and we have been informed upon good authority that these nails are found of great utility.

The tobacco-trade in Bristol is considerable, and the manufacture of snuff extensive. Of the other manufactures the principal are soap, hats, leather, both tanned and dressed in oil, shoes, and saddlery, all of which furnish articles for exportation, as well as for an extensive inland traffic. Nor must the pottery of Mrs. Ring be omitted in this sketch of the manufactures of Bristol; for, of the articles made here, it is little praise to say that they combine elegance with taste, and

* The person who obtained this patent was Watts, a plumber, and the invention is said to have been made in consequence of a dream. It consists in permitting melted lead to fall through a considerable space; and the experiment was first tried from the tower of St. Mary Redcliffe. Watts sold his patent for ten thousand pounds, and proposed to build a Crescent at Clifton with the money. The situation chosen was a huge rock, and the money was expended in making excavations and in raising immense walls for foundations, which long bore the name of WATTS'S FOLLY. Upon these walls Trafalgar-Place has been subsequently erected.

consequently a visit to the pottery is now generally among the objects which are pointed out to the notice of the stranger, who is solicitous to obtain information, or to gratify a liberal curiosity.

The domestic commerce of Bristol is very great, and is derived from the advantages which it enjoys for an extensive inland communication. The Avon, the Severn, the Wye, the Uske, the Parrett, and the Tone, together with their tributary streams, and the various canals connected with them, afford a ready conveyance for the several manufactures and imports of Bristol, and bring to it the various productions of the surrounding counties. By these means it enjoys an extensive traffic with a great part of the kingdom, and thus it obtains from the adjacent counties, in exchange for its imports and its manufactures, the several articles of exportation which are necessary for its foreign commerce.

Of the foreign commerce of Bristol the most important branch is that to the West-Indies. Some of the ships employed in this branch of trade are from 500 to 600 tons burthen, and the exports are materials for building, including great quantities of lime, the various articles of clothing necessary for the inhabitants of the West-Indian Islands, large quantities of bottled liquors, and such implements as are used in the making of sugar, and in the other business of the plantations. The imports are sugar, rum, coffee, cotton, and the other productions of the West-Indies.

The recent state of European politics had in a great measure destroyed the commerce of Britain with the nations of the Continent; that to Spain and Portugal has been preserved from the tyranny of France by British valour, acting in concert with the patriotism of the nations of the Peninsula. Of this commerce Bristol enjoys a considerable proportion, and about four thousand bags of Spanish wool are annually brought into its harbour.

Next in importance, perhaps, is the trade between Bristol and Ireland, or that to Newfoundland, and to British America. In all of these, capital to a great amount is employed ; and if sufficient enterprize be not excited, yet industry and activity procure for the citizens a commercial respectability which gives Bristol a high rank among the cities of the empire.

This commercial respectability, it is true, is in all cases the result of the possession of property, and consequently the pursuit of wealth seems inseparable from intense application to trade. In what degree this application is successful as the means of acquiring riches, every commercial city and manufacturing town may furnish striking examples, but in few have its effects been more conspicuous than in Bristol. This indeed seems to be the characteristic of the city. Its inhabitants appear to acquire property by patient toil and general economy, in the slow progress of gradual accumulation, rather than by any of those sudden strokes of good fortune which, in an age feverish with speculations, have raised some to affluence and sunk many in ruin. By industry and economy, means as simple as they are powerful, thousands have raised themselves from “ the lowest beginnings” to the possession of princely fortunes, and “ have amassed wealth enough to buy half a nation.”* The recollection of these successful examples may inspire those with courage, who are attempting to emerge from obscurity and indigence, and who propose, as the limit of their honourable exertions, the acquisition of a liberal competency.

* “ Such is the force of well-regulated industry, that a steady and vigorous exertion of our faculties, directed to one end, will generally insure success. Would you, for instance, be rich ? Do you think that *single* point worth the sacrificing every thing else to ? You may then be rich. Thousands have become so from the lowest beginnings by toil, and patient diligence, and attention to the minutest articles of expence and profit.” Barbauld’s Essay on the Folly of Inconsistent Expectations—an essay which every young man should commit to memory on his entrance into life, and make its sentiments the standard by which to regulate his hopes ; and he may be confident that the influence of its opinions will save him from the poignancy of disappointment.

· It is however a striking fact, that those who in old age have been most the slaves of avarice, have commenced their career by proposing the attainment of a competency as the object of their highest wishes. Such is the law of habit ; and thus is the love of wealth generated by its constant accumulation. He, therefore, that would preserve himself from the degradation inseparable from the love of amassing money, should not only know that there are nobler objects of pursuit, but dedicate a portion of time to their acquisition. Character or reputation is permanent riches, and consequently should be primary objects of pursuit to the young and aspiring. Leisure is the noblest wealth, and the habit of employing it well is the best preparation for a happy and dignified old age. But he who exclusively applies himself to the acquisition of money, shall waste life under the pressure and amid the vacuity of mental poverty, and shall close his career by an old age of restless imbecility, or of painful insignificance.

CHAPTER THE EIGHTH.

CONTENTS.

Introduction to the History of Dissenters in Bristol—Inscriptions of interest in the Dissenting Burying-grounds—Brunswick-Square burying-ground—the Wrights, brief notice—Hunt—W. P. Lunell, with notice—Mrs. Perry—In the Baptist burying-ground. Inscription to Emanuel Gifford—William Foot—Biographical Memoir—Latin Inscriptions to the Evans', with translations, and memoir of Dr. Caleb Evans—John Tommas—Joseph Hoskins.—Moravian burying-ground.—J. D. Worgan—Notice of Dissenting-Academy Stoke's Croft.

CHAPTER THE EIGHTH.



IT would be difficult to produce more convincing evidence of the progress which the present age has made in civilization, than by a reference to the sentiments which generally prevail upon the subject of religious liberty. It is true that much still remains to be done ; but something considerable has already been accomplished. The beginning of a better order of things is already witnessed, and its beneficial effects are experienced and acknowledged. Time, the gradual but certain improver of human institutions, will complete the superstructure, of which the foundations have been so auspiciously commenced.

When England emancipated herself from the dominion of the Roman Pontiffs, the minds of her inhabitants received an impulse which in time produced an entire revolution in the mental character of the nation. Implicit reception was no longer considered a duty ; and, as a necessary consequence, the spirit of theological inquiry was excited. This spirit was still, however, restrained within very narrow limits, beyond which the law pronounced its indulgence criminal, and inflicted its severest penalties upon those who had the temerity to transgress the prescribed boundaries. The fact indeed is, that at this period and probably down

to the time of the civil wars between Charles and his parliament,* the principle of toleration was not only unknown as the efficacious means of preserving peace among contending parties, but if it had been proposed, its adoption as a maxim of government would have been denounced as criminal and impious. Uniformity of faith was by all considered essentially necessary, not only for the peace of the church, but for the future happiness of its individual members. It was the application of this principle which rendered persecution a supposed duty, whether the civil power was possessed by papists or by protestants.

The impulse, however, which even these violent concussions gave to the public mind, was favorable to the expansion of intellect. The fetters of prejudice were thus forcibly torn from the understanding, and finally produced a conviction that some degree of religious toleration, at least, was absolutely necessary. This was indeed an important point gained, but its influence was still more extensive. The men who in the midst of so many difficulties had aspired to the possession of religious liberty, naturally became anxious for the attainment of civil freedom. The philosophical Hume asserts, that the Puritans were the founders of English liberty; and consequently they claim for themselves the enviable distinction of having laid the foundation of the noblest and best superstructure, which the political world has ever witnessed, in the provisions which the British constitution has made for civil and religious freedom.

* The principles of complete religious liberty seem to have been first advanced by the Levellers. They maintained that no man ought to be accountable to another for his opinions, and that all sects possessed an equal right to the protection of the state. The fact is that *opinions* are sacred, and that *overt acts* alone are subjects of cognizance to the civil authorities. To expose a man therefore to inconvenience, or to exclude him from obtaining advantages to which he might aspire as an efficient member of society, merely because his *opinions* differ from those of the majority, is a manifest injustice and tyranny of a most dangerous influence, because it has an evident tendency to arrest the progress of knowledge, and consequently to annihilate all hopes of improvement in the present condition of the human race.

On the effects which the various sects of dissenters produce upon the established church, and on the influence which these together exert over the public morals, it was intended to offer some remarks as the introduction to this chapter, in which it was proposed to narrate something of the history of dissenters in Bristol. The field however is too ample, and the limits assigned to this introduction are already exceeded. Happily, too, the task of entering at large into the history of dissenters in our city has been assumed by a gentleman, whose researches and habits of intercourse eminently qualify him for the undertaking, and who is understood to have devoted much of his leisure to this interesting object. The collections for this history are represented to be ample, and will probably soon be given to the public. In the interim, we must content ourselves with endeavouring to rescue from oblivion some of the most interesting inscriptions from the principal burying-grounds of the dissenters, and shall intersperse them with such biographical notices as we may be able to procure, or such as our own recollection or the memory of our contemporaries may be able to furnish.

In Brunswick-Square burying-ground, in a small building in the centre, are mural tablets bearing the following inscriptions :

JOHN WRIGHT, M.D.

Who from an incapacity, through a failure of voice,
to discharge the duties of the Christian Ministry,
in which he delighted, engaged in the
Medical Profession, and, actuated by the same
principles of piety and benevolence, closed a life of
varied usefulness, in the pleasing hope of Immortality,
23d December 1794, at 62.

Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that
man is peace. Psalm xxxvii.

Near
 this stone
 are deposited the remains
 Of the Rev. THOMAS WRIGHT,
 who sustained with dignity, the character
 of Minister of the Society of Protestant Dissenters
 in Lewin's Mead,
 during the space of forty-eight years.
 He departed this life the fourteenth of May, 1797,
 in the seventy-first year of his age.

By a manly avowal of the genuine principles
 of Religious and Civil Liberty ;
 By an ardent and well-directed zeal to promote
 the knowledge and the practice of pure Christianity,
 and particularly by a life of strict integrity,
 He acquired general respect ;
 and secured to himself the testimony of a good conscience,
 and the well-grounded hope of a happy Immortality.
 His public services, in which Piety,
 Affection, and Judgment were united,
 were happily continued to the period of his dissolution.

“ Blessed is that Servant, whom the Lord, when he cometh, shall
 find so doing.”

Dr. Wright and his brother, the Rev. Thomas Wright, were men of genuine benevolence, and gave the best evidence of its influence on their lives, by their active endeavours to ameliorate the condition of their fellow-beings. Some of the charitable institutions of our city owe their origin to their exertions ; among which we believe the Anchor-Society must be ranked, which has unquestionably been the means of incalculable benefits, and which was, we think, the parent of the other similar societies. Of the Bristol Library Society also Dr. and Mr.

Wright were either the founders or among its earliest patrons and supporters. Of the Rev. Thomas Wright in particular, the author loves to indulge the recollection ; and never will the affectionate and impressive manner with which he conveyed instruction to the young in private, be effaced from his memory.

On a tomb recently erected in the burying-ground, are the following inscriptions :

In memory of
WILLIAM and DOROTHY HUNT,
formerly of Manchester,
whose remains are here deposited.
He died September 1, 1803, aged 67.
She followed April 21, 1807, aged 77.

Their life was but a journey home,
And fondness gladden'd every day ;
Yet thought of rest and joys to come,
Kept them from loit'ring by the way.

'Twas near this spot their garments fell ;
Rising—they changed and wafted on
New-born—as yet, no note they swell,
But lie and gaze beneath the throne.

In Memory of
WILLIAM PETER LUNELL,
son of William Peter and Alicia Lunell ;
who died at Teignmouth, in Devon,
October 21, 1811, aged 27 years,
and whose remains are here deposited.

Unseen—yet still he fills the eye :
Where'er we rove, or rest, he's nigh,

And with this gentler voice revives
The past endearments of our lives.

Vain is the wish, and sinful too,—
The sovereign hand must all things do ;
His ways are right, his heart is love :
All's well below that ends above.

To this amiable and interesting young man the author was attached by those ties of romantic but pure friendship, of which perhaps youth only are susceptible. Ardour of benevolence, suavity of manners, and affection for his friends, were his distinguishing characteristics; and these, springing from a mind of no ordinary cultivation, rendered him universally beloved in life, and in death deeply lamented. Peace to thy gentle spirit, lost but loved companion of some of my happiest hours! and sacred to me be the recollection of thy virtues, till the latest emission of my breath.

Manibus date lilia plenis,
Purpureos spargam flores, animamque nepotis
His saltem adcumulem donis, et fungar inani
Munere.

Bring fragrant flowers, the whitest lilies bring,
With all the purple beauties of the spring!
These gifts at least, these honours I'll bestow
On the dear youth, to please his shade below.

On a tomb at a small distance from that last noticed is an inscription which it would be injustice to omit. The order of nature seems reversed when a father raises a monument to the memory of his son; but when the pious hands of children consecrate these memorials of affectionate gratitude to the memory of

parents, the offering approves itself to our purest and finest feelings, and the sensations inspired are in unison with every generous and kind emotion of nature. With these feelings we perused the following inscription, and happy shall we be if we can rescue it from oblivion.

To the Memory of Mrs. ANNE PERRY,
relict of William Perry, Esq. of Woodroose,
in the County of Tipperary, Ireland.

This small tribute of filial reverence and affection
was erected by her youngest and eighth child, Phebe Anne Perry,
in grateful testimony of her exemplary exercise of conjugal duty, obedience, and love; of maternal solicitude, tenderness, and care, impartially dealt to a numerous offspring; of kindness to all her friends, and serviceable acts to such of them as needed them: in a word, the whole tenor of life regulated by prudence and liberality, in temporal concerns; by charity and piety, in eternal.

She departed this life after a lingering and painful illness, which
she endured with patience and resignation, at Clifton,
19th Nov. 1811, aged 67 years.

In the Baptist Burial-ground, Redcross-street,* are a few inscriptions which deserve to be preserved.*

Here lieth all that was mortal of a faithful and wise servant of Christ, EMANUEL, son of that truly apostolical man of God, ANDREW GIFFORD; with whom in his youth he first suffered, and then laboured xxviii years in the vineyard, and not long after him was, according to his wish, suddenly called to receive his hire, in the fifty-first year of his age, Oct. 4, MDCCXXIV.

Here also sleep the remains of his beloved wife, ELEANOR, the survivor of all the sufferers in Newgate in the last century for the sake of a good conscience; eminent for piety, industry, prudence, patience, meekness.

These all died in the faith, that happy is that people whose God is the Lord; with which words she calmly bid adieu to time, Feb. xxiv. MDCCXXXVIII. in the seventy-sixth year of her pilgrimage.

* Never were we more deeply impressed with a conviction of the perishing nature of these "frail memorials" than by our visit to these burying-grounds. Some of the tombs are of recent date, and yet the inscriptions which they

To the memory of the Rev. and Learned WILLIAM FOOT, for many years Minister of y^e Gospel in this City. He died May 13th, 1782, in the 75th year of his age. Undissembled piety, integrity, candour, and liberality, eminently distinguished his character. Go, Reader, study like him to approve thyself unto God, and thy latter end, like his, will be peace.

William Foot was born at Plymouth in 1707. He received the rudiments of his education in his native town, and prosecuted his studies first under the superintendence of the Rev. Henry Grove,* who deservedly ranks with the most eminent men among the dissenters. Mr. Foot afterward became the pupil of the Rev. John Alexander, of Stratford-upon-Avon, a man who has obtained the reputation of having been one of the most distinguished oriental scholars of his age.

In 1728, Mr. Foot became the pastor of a Calvinistic congregation of the Baptist persuasion at Tiverton, in Devon, and in 1731 removed to Moreton Hampstead. How long he continued in this seclusion has not been mentioned, but he afterwards came to Bristol, to officiate as the minister of a small congregation of General Baptists in Callow-Hill-Street. About the same time he opened a classical school on St. Michael's Hill, which he conducted with increasing reputation during many years. In this school were educated many excellent characters, some of whom have borne public testimony to the advantages derived from Mr. Foot's instructions. The Rev. Dr. Estlin is his successor in the school. Under him its reputation has been extended, and some of its pupils have succeeded in acquiring for themselves a distinction in the republic of letters.

contained were already illegible. Surely it is desirable to adopt some plan of giving to these inscriptions a greater degree of permanency; and till something better can be suggested we would again recommend the plan mentioned in the note to page 129. If monumental inscriptions thus preserved possess no other value, they would furnish important evidence of deaths, &c. which would, of consequence, be highly valuable in a legal point of view.

* For an interesting memoir of this very superior and truly excellent man, the reader is referred to the third volume of Dr. Drake's Essays illustrative of the Tatler, Spectator, and Guardian.

As an author, Mr. Foot is principally known by a little work, of which the title is “A plain Account of the Ordinance of Baptism; in which all the Texts of the New Testament relating to it are produced, and the whole doctrine concerning it drawn from them alone: in a course of Letters to the Right Rev. Dr. Benjamin Hoadly, late Lord Bishop of Winchester.” These letters appeared in two distinct publications, of which the first was printed in 1756; and the second in 1758. A complete edition of the collected letters was published in 1766, and a third edition, with a biographical sketch of the author, by the Rev. Dr. Toulmin, appeared in 1787. These letters have subsequently been several times reprinted, and have obtained an extensive circulation in America. Besides this tract, Mr. Foot was the author of a small work on Education, principally designed to elucidate the course of studies pursued in the school over which he presided.

As a theologian, Mr. Foot saw reason to change the opinions for which in early life he had been the advocate. This consequence seems inseparable from investigation, and where the mind is progressive: “to change not” is a prerogative which belongs exclusively to the Supreme Intelligence.

As a man Mr. Foot was distinguished by ardent piety, genuine benevolence, and an innocent simplicity of character, which even a long experience in “the ways of men” could not corrupt or diminish. He possessed, in an eminent degree, the affectionate respect of his pupils; and they who were most capable of appreciating his virtues, have consecrated the noblest monument to his name, by cherishing the love of his memory.

M. S.

HUGONIS EVANS, A.M.

Inter theologos,

Præclarus et insignis merito habetatur.

In publicis concionibus disertus, et eloqueus,

In omnibus sacri muneris partibus
 Fidelis, operosus, et felix.
 Maxime juvenibus erudiendis aptus.
 Ad omnia pietatis munia promptus semper et alacris.
 Conjux, pater, amicus, præstantissimus.
 Quid verbis pluribus? Verus Christianus.]
 Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit.
 V. kal. April. A. D. MDCCCLXXXI. Aetatis suæ LXIX.

M. S.
 CALEB EVANS, S. T. P.
 Hugone Patre, A. M. nati.
 Exemplum paternum illustre secutus
 Ecclesiæ et Academiæ quibus diu prospere præsidebat
 Decus erat et tutamen.
 Amicus certus, liberalis, fidus.
 Cognatis omnibus quasi pater perdilectus,
 Libertatis amore flagrans, jura hominum audacter propugnabat.
 Pietate erga Deum insignis ;
 Sollicitus semper omnesque per casus discipulus Christi
 Non tam haberi quam sane esse.
 Gloriæ divinæ hominumque saluti alacriter se dicando,
 Pares haud multos, præstantiores nullos reliquit.
 Valde igitur et merito flebilis occidit.
 V. id. Aug. A. D. 1791,
 Aetatis suæ,
 LIV.

TRANSLATIONS.

Sacred to the memory
 of
 HUGH EVANS, A. M.
 Who deservedly ranked with the

most eminent Theologians
of his age.

In his public services he was equally
eloquent and impressive ;
and in discharging the several duties of the sacred office,
faithful, laborious, and successful.

To the arduous and important task of educating the young
he was peculiarly adapted.

In performing the offices of piety
he was prompt and indefatigable.

As a husband, father, and friend,
he had few equals ;

While his whole conduct was an honour to the Christian profession.

He died lamented by
the pious and the good,
in the sixty-ninth year of his age,

1781

Sacred to the memory
of the Rev. CALEB,
Son of

HUGH EVANS ;

Who, following the illustrious example of his father,
was an honour and support
to the Church and Academy

Over which he long and prosperously presided.

In friendship he was firm, liberal, and unchanging ;

Towards his relatives he displayed the
affectionate solicitude of a parent,
and was loved as a father.

Animated by the purest love of constitutional freedom,

He was the uniform and intrepid supporter
of the Rights of the People.

His piety towards God was pure and ardent ;

In all circumstances he was anxious not TO APPEAR, but in reality TO BE
a Disciple of Christ.

Thus cheerfully dedicating himself to promote
the best interests of men and the glory of God,
He hath left few who are equal to him,
none who are superior ;
and therefore died greatly and deservedly lamented,
in the 54th year of his age,
1791.

Caleb Evans, D. D. the eldest son of the Rev. Hugh Evans, was born in Bristol, in 1737. He acquired a knowledge of the classics and was instructed in the various branches of a general and liberal education under the superintendence and direction of his father ; and as he had early resolved to devote himself to the Christian ministry, it was determined that he should complete his studies in the dissenting-academy at Milc-End, and for this purpose he was removed to London about the year 1754.

The academy was at that time conducted with great reputation by Drs. Walker and Jennings, of whom the last is well known in the republic of letters as the author of " Lectures on the Jewish Antiquities," a work which combines extensive erudition with profound research. After an application during the usual period to the several studies, which ought invariably to form a preparation for the exercise of the important office of a public instructor, Dr. Evans continued during a short time in the metropolis, and preached to a congregation of dissenters which then met for divine worship in Unicorn-yard, Southwark. In 1759, however, he returned to Bristol, and on the decease of the Rev. Bernard Foskett, was chosen assistant-preacher to his father among the congregation of Particular Baptists, assembling at Broadmead Meeting, in this city. But his ordination

did not take place till 1767, when he had nearly attained the 30th year of his age, at which period it was conducted by the excellent Dr. Samuel Stennett, assisted by other ministers of the Baptist denomination.

Upon the death of his father in 1781, Dr. Evans succeeded him in the office of pastor to the Baptist congregation in Broadmead, and at the same time was elected president of the Education-Society. He discharged the duties resulting from both these important relations, with distinguished ability and zeal, during a period of ten years; and in August 1791, terminated a career full of activity, usefulness, and honour, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. Dr. Samuel Stennett preached his funeral sermon to a numerous and deeply-affected audience, which was afterwards published, together with the funeral oration delivered at his grave, by the Rev. John Tommas, of the Pithay. The preacher well observes of Dr. Evans, that “he died at an age when, in the course of nature, his continuance for ten or fifteen years longer might have been expected. In a sense, however; he might be said to have attained this last term, if we measure his life, not by the efflux of time, but by the variety and multiplicity of his active exertions for the glory of God, in the good of mankind.”

Dr. Evans' productions, as an author, were Sermons on the Scripture-Doctrine of the Son and Holy Spirit—An Address to the serious and candid Professors of Christianity—Christ Crucified, or the Scripture-Doctrine of the Atonement; and several single discourses, which were preached upon public occasions. The Address was the most popular of his productions, and was composed in reply to a publication of Dr. Priestley, who is known to have declared, upon its perusal, that it was written as became “a gentleman and a Christian.” It is a circumstance, indeed, which reflects honour upon the memory of Dr. Evans, that his writings were generally free from that acrimony of controversy, which has so much disgraced

the publications of theological disputants. He diffused, even over the thorny mazes of controversy, the candour of a Christian, and the liberality of a scholar; and uniformly preserved a sacred regard to that philanthropy which is the noblest characteristic of the Christian religion.

The exertions of Dr. Evans, as a tutor, are entitled to the highest encomiums; and the Bristol Education-Society, over which he had so long presided with indefatigable industry, united to distinguished talents, were so sensible of his various merits, that they ordered a medallion of him, executed by Bacon, with an inscription commemorating the services he had rendered the institution, to be preserved in their museum, as a testimony of his excellencies, and a tribute of their gratitude.

As a preacher, Dr. Evans is described to have been peculiarly impressive; and while his publications were principally controversial, his exertions in the pulpit were chiefly practical. He knew that the judgment might be correct, while the conduct was erroneous; and he deemed it of little importance, if men became wiser without growing better. He employed the persuasive powers of his eloquence, principally to induce men to the practice of the several moral duties; and as these duties were enforced by the animating hope of immortality, it may be truly said of him that he—

“ Allured to brighter worlds, and led the way.”

Here rest, in hope of a glorious resurrection to eternal life, the honoured remains of the Rev. JOHN TOMMAS; who sustained with unblemished dignity, the character of Pastor of the Baptist Church in the Pithay, for forty-eight years. His abilities as a preacher, his faithful discharge of the duties of his sacred office, his tender and affectionate concern for the souls of his flock, and his zeal in publishing the truths of the gospel, need no eulogium: they are engraven on the hearts of all who knew him. His pure spirit was removed from this state of sin and sorrow, to the holy and happy regions of immortality, on the 27th of August 1800, aged 70 years.

On a stone inscribed to the memory of the

Rev. JOSEPH HOSKINS,
who died September 28th, 1788.

is a long inscription which terminates thus—

This stone, too mean and humble for his worth,
Is placed by his church
As a grateful testimony
Of the blessings received under his ministry.

In the Moravian Burying-ground, in Lower Maudlin-Lane, was buried John Dawes Worgan, a young man of superior abilities, who fell a victim to consumption in the 19th year of his age. On entering this burying-ground, the neatness of its preservation and the simplicity of the inscriptions are impressive. Here all the distinctions are levelled which genius can confer or wealth can purchase; and “to be born and die” *literally* “make up all the history” of the tenants of these humble graves. We observed only two deviations from this arrangement: one stone was inscribed to “The honourable and reverend,” and on another was written “Resurget”—She shall arise. The grave-stone of Worgan is inscribed, “John Dawes Worgan, aged 19, died 1810,” and similar inscriptions mark all the other stones.

The dissenters of the Baptist denomination support an Academy in Bristol, for the education of young men designed for the ministry. This academy owes its origin to an endowment which has for many years been annexed to the salary of the pastor of Broadmead-Meeting, held on condition of his being a man well skilled in the Hebrew and Greek languages, and that he shall devote a portion of his time to the education of young men intended for the ministerial profession. From this

endowment sprung the Bristol Education-Society, which during some years supported an academy in North-Street; and which, assisted by contributions from the dissenting body in general, and more particularly from those of the Baptist denomination, has recently erected a building in Stoke's Croft, exclusively appropriated to the purposes of education.

The library of the academy is said to be extensive, and to contain almost every production of importance upon subjects in theology. In the museum are several objects of curiosity and interest, particularly a collection of Hindoo idols, or models of such, which have been sent hither at different times by the Baptist Missionaries in India.

Of the progressive advances of the academy from the time of its establishment, of the biography of its tutors, and of the pupils which have received their education in the institution, the limits assigned to our work compel us to be silent. It is only permitted us to notice that the first tutors in the academy were the Rev. Hugh and Caleb Evans and the Rev. James Newton. Of the Evans' we have already spoken; and of Newton it only remains to add, that he was the particular friend of John Henderson, and "forms one of the many instances where superior learning and exalted virtues sink down to the grave unknown to the world, and wept only by that confined circle who knew how to appreciate excellence, but whose praise with its object is soon carried away by the onward rolling waves of time."*

* See *The Ponderer*, p. 186.

CHAPTER THE NINTH.

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Charitable Institutions, Public Buildings, &c.—Schools for the education of the People—
City Grammar School—other Grammar Schools—Colston's School—Schools upon the
Plans of Bell and Lancaster—Private Schools—Foote's—Dr. Jones'—Biographical
Notice—Exchange—Commercial Rooms—Merchants' Hall—Theatre—Charities—
Bristol Library—Philosophical Society—Circulating Libraries—Literature.

CHAPTER THE NINTH.

FEW cities in the kingdom are more distinguished either for the number or the variety of charitable institutions than Bristol. Their number indeed is honourable to the benevolence of the citizens, and their variety reflects some lustre upon the civilization of the age; while both combine to afford evidence of the existence of those generous feelings which prompt to the alleviation of human suffering. The period however has arrived when it is very generally understood, that the wretchedness of poverty can never be annihilated till the poor themselves associate for its extermination. If benevolence would prevent the pains and the sorrows which seem inseparable from indigence, it must follow a new direction, and instead of providing for the poor, must enable the poor to provide for themselves. They must be taught to think and to compare, and in many instances to prefer a present inconvenience to the possibility of encountering a future difficulty. The exercise however of this species of self denial, necessarily implies the existence of some degree of mental discipline. Those exertions therefore of the benevolent which have for their object the training of the poor to order, to industry, and to economy, are eminently calculated to exterminate the evils of poverty, and finally to annihilate its wretchedness.

If these opinions of the means of ameliorating the condition of the human race be founded in truth, the provision which is made for the education of the people must appear a matter of the very first importance. In Bristol several establishments exist, which in the gradations of the objects that they embrace, are intended to promote this most desirable purpose. Among them, that which is entitled to a priority of notice, is the City Grammar School, founded by Robert and Nicholas Thorne. These were eminent merchants of the age in which they flourished, and appropriated no inconsiderable proportion of their wealth to the endowment of this School.

The situation which was chosen for the establishment, was the site of the ancient hospital of St. Bartholomew; and the building erected for the purpose, was that which is now the City School in Christmas-street. As the situation of the present Grammar School near the College-green was deemed greatly preferable, an exchange of the respective establishments was made in 1783 by the corporation, and afterwards confirmed by act of parliament. The endowments however of the distinct charities were continued to each, in the same proportion as they existed previously to the exchange.

The City Grammar School has two fellowships at St. John's College, Oxford, and enjoys five exhibitions, worth together nearly forty pounds per annum. We have been informed, that the School had once a high reputation, and that it has produced some eminent scholars; but we hesitate not to record our expectation, that the crudition and assiduity of its present masters will restore it to its former distinction.

Besides this School, the city contains two other endowed Grammar Schools: the College Grammar School in the lower College-Green, founded by Henry VIII. and Redcliff Grammar School, in St. Mary's Chapel, at the eastern extremity of Redcliff Church, founded by Queen Elizabeth. In the history of these establishments nothing has reached us which appears to deserve a record, and consequently it must suffice thus to notice their existence.

Of the eminent persons whom these Schools are said to have produced we at present recollect only Sir William Draper K. B. who received the rudiments of his education in the College Grammar School, under Mr. Bryant. The names of the others may probably be found in the rolls of their respective Colleges, or it may be, that like many men of profound erudition, their fame has not extended beyond the limits of their university.

In the other Free Schools of the city the branches of education attended to are principally reading, writing, and arithmetic ; including we believe merchant's accounts. Of these the most important is Colston's School, in St. Augustin's Place. This is indeed a princely establishment. In it one hundred boys are boarded, clothed and educated during seven years, and some of the most skilful accountants of our city have been formed in this School. Here also Chatterton resided for the space of seven years of his contracted but eventful life, and if the poems attributed to Rowley are in reality his own productions, here some of them at least were composed.

It is however the characteristic of the present age, that the importance of educating the people has not only been generally and almost universally acknowledged, but that the improvements effected by the systems of Bell and Lancaster, have given such facility to the acquisition of knowledge, as promises its universal dissemination. In Bristol are schools for boys upon both these systems ; and recently has been instituted a school for females upon the plan of Lancaster. It is the advantage of these schools, that they offer the blessings of education to indefinite numbers : it is the characteristic of the schools of Lancaster, that they offer them upon terms which can be to none the ground of exclusion.*

* To these institutions for educating the people must be added the Society for teaching the Adult Poor to read the scriptures. Of this society the first annual report was published in March 1813 ; and from it we learn that in imitation of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the adult schools are open to persons of all religious persuasions

Besides these there are several other similar establishments of minor importance, with the history of which no circumstances are connected that appeared particularly worthy of record. It seemed therefore superfluous to insert a mere catalogue of names and dates, which, however useful for the sake of reference, could be rendered subservient neither to amusement nor instruction. But perhaps a different course of conduct ought to be observed in regard to the private schools and academies, which have formerly existed in the city for the education of the middling and higher ranks in society. It is natural that these institutions should rank high in our estimation, and that we should regret that no attempt has hitherto been made, as far as we have been informed, to preserve some traces of their fugitive existence. That this is one of the legitimate provinces of topography seems indubitable, and as the subject evidently stands connected with the progress of intellect and the advancement of knowledge, it may be rendered at once a source of interest and instruction. Perhaps there is no better criterion of the mental character of a people, than the nature of their private schools. For as education is well understood and duly appreciated, the course of studies will not only become more liberal, but, in these establishments, will be extended or contracted, in proportion generally, to the intellectual acquisitions of parents and guardians.

Of Mr. Foote's School on St. Michael's Hill mention has already been incidentally made. This establishment long ranked among the first of the city. In the plan of studies it combined a classical with an English education. This indeed is one of the advantages of private schools, that as they are fettered by no statutes and

and that the instructions delivered are from the scriptures without note or comment. The number of learners admitted to these schools since the commencement of the institution to March 1813, was six hundred and eleven. The number now under instruction is nearly one thousand. Several of the learners are above sixty years old, some seventy, and one is eighty-five. Spectacles have consequently been bought for some who were desirous to search the scriptures for themselves. The behaviour of the learners is said to be truly exemplary, and their improvement such as exceeds the most sanguine expectation.

subject to no arbitrary restrictions, every improvement suggested by experience may be immediately adopted, and the course of studies may usually be suited to the particular habits and destinations of the pupils. It has already been observed that Mr. Foot continued his school till his death, which took place in 1783.

The Rev. Samuel Seyer, M.A. who has already been referred to as translator and editor of the new edition of the Bristol Charters,* long presided over a school in the Fort adjoining to St. Michael's Hill, with great reputation. The plan of studies was, we believe, principally classical; but we are certain that it preserved a high character till its dissolution, and that many excellent scholars were formed under its discipline. Mr. Seyer's predecessor was, we think, the Rev. Dr. Jones; who afterwards removed his school to the village of Redland, near Bristol,† where he continued till his death, which took place in 1812. Dr. Jones was buried in the ground adjoining Redland Chapel, in which a flat stone bears the following inscription:

Underneath this Stone
are deposited the remains
of
The REV. THOMAS JONES, D. D.
late of Redland,
in the Parish of Westbury, *deceased,*†
Vicar
Of Kingsteignton and Highwick,
In the County of Devon, and
Chaplain
To his R. H. the Duke of KENT.
He died
The 26th of January, 1812, aged 54 years.
"Blessed are the dead which died in the Lord."

* In a note to page 204, Vol. II.

† In narrating these circumstances,

———*incedis per ignes*

Suppositos cineri doloso;

but the fact was, that Dr. Jones opened his school in the Fort, and Mr. Seyer at Redland; that they mutually exchanged situations, and that both acquired competent fortunes by the profession.

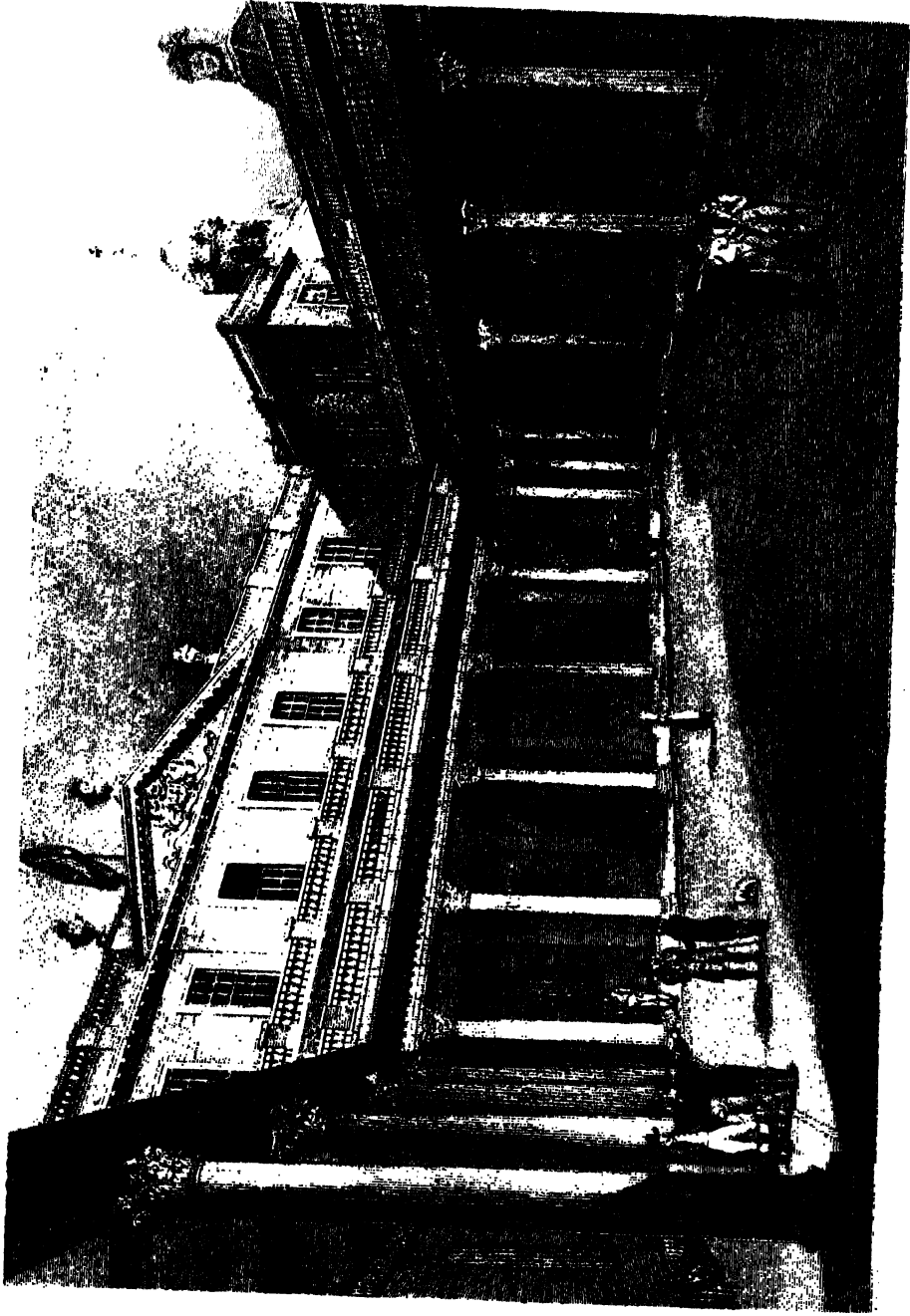
† If the *remains* of the *late* Doctor had been "deposited underneath this stone" before his *decease*, it would indeed

Dr. Jones was ranked among the most profound classics of his age, and on many accounts deserved to be distinguished as an extraordinary man. The unwearied assiduity with which he applied himself to study, more especially during the early part of his residence in Bristol, affords an example particularly worthy the imitation of those who are solicitous to lay a solid foundation for future eminence. At this period, his was the useful but laborious occupation of an assistant in a large classical school. But the hours which were not required for the discharge of his duties, were rigidly applied to the obtaining of a perfect acquaintance with classical, and especially with Grecian literature. In this situation he continued about eight years, acquiring in the midst of difficulties which seemed almost insurmountable, the knowledge which subsequently conducted him to reputation and to affluence.

To the author Dr. Jones was unknown except by person, but of his liberality and generosity he has known several instances, and has often heard them mentioned by others in the highest terms of admiration. Dr. Jones had himself experienced the difficulty of emerging from obscurity and comparative indigence, to distinction and competence; and to those who had engaged in the same arduous struggle, his advice and his assistance were always accessible. Many were indebted to him for the first steps in the progress of their advancement, and therefore we may hope that many will love his memory, as long as recollection shall hold its seat in their bosoms.

From the notice of private academies to a history or description of the public buildings in the city, the transition is, in some respects, violent, but seemed unavoidable; and, among the buildings in Bristol erected for commercial purposes, the most striking from its situation, and perhaps for the elegance of its structure,

have been extraordinary, and ought to have been thus expressly recorded. Surely this man of erudition would start from the grave, if he could be conscious of the indignity offered to his ashes; but happily, in this house appointed for all living, the *foolish*, as well as "the wicked, cease from troubling," for "here the weary are at rest."



is the Exchange. The north front is in the Corinthian order, upon a rustic basement, and extends one hundred and ten feet, but the east and west sides are one hundred and thirty-five feet each, and is supposed to be capable of containing about fifteen hundred persons within its peristyle. It was built from a plan of Mr. Wood, by the body corporate, at an expence of nearly fifty thousand pounds. The foundation was laid in March, 1740, and the structure was finished in September, 1743, at which time it was opened amidst the rejoicings of the citizens; and that the general satisfaction might be more complete, the prisoners confined in Newgate for debt were liberated by the corporation. In 1796 this edifice underwent a general repair from the injuries it had sustained during the revolution of half a century.

At a short distance from the Exchange are the Commercial Rooms. The merchants of Bristol having experienced much inconvenience from the want of a public institution affording accommodations on a plan somewhat similar to the establishment of Lloyd's in London, and the Athenæum at Liverpool, a subscription of £17,000 was filled by the mercantile interest of the city; and in the year 1809, a piece of ground was purchased by the committee of the subscribers, in Corn-Street, nearly opposite the Exchange, for the purpose of erecting a building suitable to the object in view.

Shortly afterward the committee made a public application to architects, offering premiums of fifty, thirty and twenty guineas, for the first, second and third best designs, for the proposed building. Ten plans were accordingly submitted to their judgment; and after the gentlemen of the committee had duly considered and publicly exhibited all the plans, they awarded the first premium to Mr. C. A. Busby, of London, whose design was adopted, and under whose superintendence, as architect to the committee, the building was erected.

The entrance from Corn-Street is under an Ionic portico of four columns,* communicating immediately with the grand room, which is sixty feet long, forty feet wide, and twenty-five in height. In the centre of the ceiling is a circular lantern light, twenty-one feet in diameter, covered with a dome borne by twelve Caryatides, or supporting figures, between which the light is admitted into the room, through reticular iron sashes, and the whole has an effect altogether pleasing and elegant. The height from the floor to the dome is forty-five feet, and from the centre is suspended a beautiful Grecian lamp, besides four others of smaller dimensions, in the angles of the room. The reading-room is thirty feet by twenty, and seventeen high; there are also a committee-room and offices, and two rooms over the reading and committee rooms, of dimensions corresponding with those below. The whole site of the building is vaulted, and the liberality of the committee has spared no expence in the solidity of its construction, or in the embellishments, which render it an honourable proof of their public spirit. The rooms are handsomely furnished. All the London news and commercial papers, as well as those printed in the principal cities and towns of the united kingdom, are taken in, and also the best periodical publications. Correct authentic lists are kept of all vessels coming in and clearing out from the principal ports; and every possible information is afforded to facilitate the extensive commercial arrangements of the citizens of Bristol.

The number of subscribers to these rooms is at present nearly eight hundred. The subscription is two guineas per annum. Those who hold no share procure a nomination, for which they pay an interest of twenty-five shillings per annum. Strangers have access to the rooms under certain restrictions and when introduced by a subscriber.

* Within the portico is a tablet, in basso relievo, executed by Mr. J. G. Bubb, of London. The subject is Britannia attended by Neptune and Minerva, receiving tributes from the four quarters of the world. Upon the building itself are three statues by the same artist, of which that in the centre is intended to designate the City of Bristol, attended by Commerce on her right, and Navigation on her left.

The Merchants' Hall was built in 1701, but has been frequently repaired, and the front is of a very recent date. In a niche over the entrance, is a bust of his present majesty, and on each side are urns, bearing the arms of the society. The saloon was formerly adorned with several portraits of eminent merchants, of which the only one at present remaining is a half length of the distinguished philanthropist Colston, painted by Richardson ; this is said to be a good likeness, and is the original from which Rysbrack formed a model for the statue upon the monument in All-Saints' church. The hall consists of two divisions, separated by glass doors fitted to an arch, but in itself is spacious, and its decorations have been much admired.

The halls of the other chartered companies at present remaining are the Coopers' Hall, in King-Street, and the Merchant-Tailors' Hall, Tailors' Court, Broad-Street. The first is a handsome freestone building, in the Corinthian order, built from a design by Halfpenny. Merchant-Tailors' Hall belonged to a company of great antiquity and considerable wealth, out of which they founded and endowed an alms-house, in Merchant-Street, in 1701. This hall is now used for public exhibitions, or other similar purposes ; it contains some pieces of armour, and the walls are ornamented with a few portraits.

Nor must the Bristol Theatre remain entirely unnoticed. It is situated in King-Street, and is said to have been pronounced by Garrick to be the most complete in Europe of its dimensions. It was opened on Friday, May 30th, 1766, with the comedy of *The Conscious Lovers*, and the farce of *The Citizen* ; on which occasion a prologue and epilogue were written by Garrick. The prologue was spoken by Mr. Powell, and the epilogue by Mr. Arthur.

It is well known that the same company of actors perform at the Bristol and Bath Theatres. Many of those who subsequently attained the greatest eminence

in their profession, have passed the time of their noviciate at these Theatres. Here Henderson laid the basis of his reputation ; and Mrs. Siddons, whose fame as a tragic actress has eclipsed that of all her predecessors, and which few from among posterity will equal, trod these boards during some years, and was frequently doomed to play to almost empty benches, till her transcendant powers had received the stamp of currency from a London audience. But it should not be therefore conceived that provincial audiences are without discrimination ; the probability is, that if the most eminent actor were known to be engaged by a provincial manager for a few years instead of a few nights, even he would have the mortification to find that when the charm of novelty had ceased to allure, he too would be condemned " to strut his hour to empty benches."

Among the public charities of Bristol, the Infirmary is pre-eminent; it is supported by annual subscriptions, and its regulations are dictated by the genuine spirit of pure philanthropy. It is indeed CHARITY UNIVERSAL.

The Bristol Dispensary is also supported by contributions and annual subscriptions. Its intention is to provide medical attendance for poor women in child-birth, and for the poor at their own dwellings.

A Dispensary upon similar principles has lately been established for Clifton and the Wells; and we have been informed that very important advantages have been derived from it, by the indigent of those extensive districts.

To these is to be added, the Medical Preventive Institution, which, as its name imports, is intended to prevent disease, and when possible, to defeat, by anticipating its attacks. No proposed objects can be more important, and we presume that their practicability has now been ascertained by experience. There

are also institutions for removing Diseases of the Eyes, which we are informed have been productive of the most important benefits. Bristol has also an Asylum for the Blind, in which those who seemed by the privations of sight to be doomed to perpetual inaction, are taught to procure themselves a comfortable maintenance by their industry. This asylum is situated in Lower Maudlin-Lane; where baskets and other manufactures of the blind are always to be purchased. The Asylum for Orphan Girls is situated at Hook's Mills, within the distance of a mile from Stoke's Croft Turnpike. This admirable institution is eminently calculated to prevent the evils which the Female Penitentiary in Upper Maudlin-Lane is established to correct. We have chosen thus to associate them, because we are firmly persuaded that an early education, producing habits of industry and reflection, will be the best antidote of the evils to which indigent and uneducated females are so much exposed.

Besides these charities, several societies for the alleviation of the distresses of indigence are established in Bristol. Of these the principal we believe are the Anchor, the Dolphin, and the Grateful, which meet annually on Colston's birthday, and in each of them very considerable sums are collected for benevolent purposes; the Humane Society, of which the interesting object is the resortation to life of persons apparently dead by drowning; the Stranger's Friend Society, for relieving the wants of the sick or the distressed stranger, and for affording temporary assistance to the poor at their own habitations; the Society for the Discharge of Debtors confined in Newgate for small sums; and lastly the Prudent Man's Friend Society. The principles upon which this society is established, it is impossible to commend too highly. It is intended to enable the poor to provide for themselves; it furnishes them motives to be economical, since it receives their savings, however small, for the purpose of accumulation at interest. It has established benefit-clubs upon principles which promise a perpetuity of continuance; and it thus tends to disseminate among

the people calculations in which they feel peculiar interest. To these we add the Female Misericordia, for the temporary relief of sick and lying-in-women; and the Society for the Reward and Encouragement of Female Servants. This is certainly an interesting object, and one which merits a much greater degree of attention than it has hitherto received.

We shall close this account of the charities of our city, by copying part of the first report of the Prudent Man's Friend Society. This report is far above all praise, and we think that if its sentiments were universal, the wretchedness of poverty would cease to exist.

“ IN labouring for the benefit of our fellow creatures, two objects, perfectly distinct in their nature, are to be kept in view:—the *Prevention* of distress, and its *Relief*. Though the former be more easily attainable by the limited powers of man, the latter has generally been the favourite object with the institutors of charitable societies. Nor is this surprising: the appeal made to the feelings by the present view of even a slight degree of suffering, is a much more powerful motive of action than that made to the understanding, by the remote probability of greater suffering, in future. It is not, therefore, till the Philanthropist has found by painful experience the inefficacy of all the plans which benevolence has hitherto devised to *relieve* the misery by which he is surrounded, that he turns his thoughts to the *prevention* of those evils which no human power can cure.

“ In a system of preventive measures, it is impossible to estimate the exact sum of good produced, because the misery which might have existed if these measures had not been resorted to, cannot be known. Preventive charities therefore, can never obtain that popularity which has been the meed of those that make a direct appeal to the feelings through the senses. If we see the naked clothed, and the hungry fed, it is easy to comprehend that good has been done; but it requires some powers of reasoning and reflection to trace the operation of those means, through which the pain of hunger has been *spared*, and the shame of rags avoided.

“ But bodily suffering is not the only evil of poverty which philanthropy would prevent. Too commonly the degradation of the mind bears some proportion to the degradation of the outward circumstances; and though it may be thought easy to relieve the corporeal wants of our fellow-creatures, yet who shall revive the spirit which has been ~~extinguished~~ by suffering, or restore that mind which has been brutalized by the extreme of poverty?

“ To *prevent* evils which can only be *imperfectly* remedied, and to preserve the human mind from that state of debasement from which it is seldom raised, the PRUDENT MAN'S FRIEND SOCIETY was projected. In the course of the last year, it has received the liberal support of a benevolent Public; and the Committee have now the pleasure of laying before the Subscribers, the progress which in the short space of nine months, has been made in attaining the desirable ends for which it was instituted.

“ The first object of the Society is an attempt to remove the pernicious examples of idleness and vice, exhibited by *Street-Beggars* and other impostors; and to give temporary relief to those persons who, on enquiry, are found to be driven to ask alms from real distress. For this purpose, tickets are issued by the Society; and if the charitably disposed would steadily persevere in giving them in the streets instead of money, the deserving would be more certainly relieved, and the impostor would quit a neighbourhood in which he finds his deceptions are no longer profitable. As long as mistaken charity continues to administer to the wants of the idle and the vicious, the risk of the penalties of the law will not deter either of these classes from supplying their wants by means to them so easy, as assuming the appearance of sickness, or inventing a tale of distress.

“ The second object of the Society is to enable the deserving Poor to better their condition by the timely assistance of small loans; and by the same means to prevent that accumulation of distress which, when it once exists, ten times the sum would often not remove. The Committee trust that something has been done towards the formation of habits of saving; and something towards the promotion of that good will and kindness which should ever subsist between the higher and lower classes of the community.

“ The third attempt of the Society has been to form a fund of savings; which has likewise been successful.

“ The last, by no means the least important object of this Society, is the establishment of Benefit Clubs, particularly for Females, upon such a plan as shall remove the objections to some of the existing societies of this kind. But in consequence of the great difficulty of impressing upon the human mind, the necessity and advantage of making a present sacrifice to secure a greater future good, the Benefit Clubs have as yet made but little progress. Future reports, the Committee trust, will afford satisfaction on this head. And they respectfully request that the Subscribers will assist them in this part of their labours, by explaining to young persons of every rank, under their influence, the wisdom of making this cheap provision, for that hour of adversity, from which sad experience daily shews, no rank, not even the most privileged, is exempted.

“ Such being the objects of The Prudent Man's Friend Society, and so much having been effected in the short time which has elapsed since its establishment; a steady perseverance in the plan can scarcely fail to produce a sensible effect upon the condition of the Poor in this neighbourhood. But should the powerfully counteracting causes

of war, and that *spirit of improvidence* which is generated by the Poor-Laws and fostered by the hand of indiscriminate charity, continue to operate, and prevent the good done from becoming strikingly perceptible, still it must be evident to every reflecting mind, that however great may be the sum of human misery, it would have been augmented, but for the encouragement to *prudence* and *economy* which has been afforded to the labouring classes by the institution of this Society."

It appears that Bristol had a public Library at an early period, which was under the direction of the Kalendaries, and conducted in the genuine spirit of that liberality which alone can render such establishments extensively beneficial. This library was unfortunately destroyed by fire in 1466; at which period it is represented to have consisted of eight hundred volumes. From the date of this event till 1615, no establishment of the kind existed in Bristol, when Mr. Robert Redwood gave by will a house in King-Street, to be converted into a library for *the public use*. In 1636, some addition was made to this donation by Richard Vicaris, and the body corporate were appointed trustees of the infant establishment. About this period Tobias Matthews, Archbishop of York, presented this library of his native city with several volumes of books, "*for the use of the aldermen and shopkeepers there,*" which were afterwards increased by various donations, and in 1739, when the present building was erected, amounted to five hundred volumes. It would seem that this number has since been augmented, if the two thousand volumes stated in the catalogue of the Bristol Library Society *to belong to the city*, refer to this ancient collection.* A wing to the original building was erected in 1786, at which period it

* Since this passage was written the Author has been informed, that the conjecture in the text is correct; and that the number was augmented by donations from John Heylin and Matthew Brickdale, Esqrs. It is, however, to be regretted that these two thousand volumes repose on the shelves, without producing any of the objects for which the collection was intended. The principal cause of this neglect is, that the conditions upon which these books are accessible to the public are unknown. Some years since, the Author applied to the Librarian of the Society upon the subject, but the gentleman who then held the office could give him no information, nor did he even know that any catalogue of these books was in existence! The Author then intended to apply to the Corporation, as the original trustees of the City Library, but a want of leisure principally has hitherto prevented his executing

is probable that the "Bristol Library Society" was formed. The Rev. A. S. Catcott bequeathed his museum of minerals and fossils, together with a valuable collection of books, to this library, which also contains a few MSS. of comparatively little value; and among them is one by that gentleman.

The collection of books belonging to the Bristol Library Society is very valuable, and constant additions are made to it in consequence of the appropriation of the subscriptions to new purchases. By means of this arrangement, annual accessions to the value of four hundred pounds are said to be made to the library. The librarian is a clergyman, who is assisted in the discharge of the duties of his office by a sub-librarian.

The terms of admission are, a deposit of eight guineas, by which the subscriber becomes a proprietor, and the property is transferable, and in addition to the deposit an annual subscription of one guinea and a half is paid in advance. The sum therefore which must be paid by every new subscriber is nearly ten pounds, before any advantages can be derived from the establishment. That the benefits which may be procured are more than equivalent to this deposit we have never entertained the shadow of a doubt. But if it be intended that the Library shall become a public benefit, the members of the society should certainly consist of annual subscribers, as well as of proprietors. In this case the subscription ought undoubtedly to be augmented to the non-proprietor in proportion to the interest of the deposit, and at present might be fairly fixed at two guineas per annum. It does not appear probable that any evils would arise from this extension of the plan of the Bristol Library Society,

this design. There can however be no doubt but that a respectful application would be attended with all the success which can be desired, and that these two thousand volumes might lay the foundation of a library which would be accessible to *all the citizens*, if not gratuitously, at least upon such moderate terms as to render the establishment a **PUBLIC BENEFIT**.

if the librarian would exercise only an ordinary degree of vigilance in examining the state of books when delivered to the subscribers, and when they are returned ; especially as the committee may forbid what volumes they please to be taken from the Library. This arrangement would render the Library an institution of evident public utility. It is true that something more than even this is necessary, that these establishments may be productive of all the advantages of which they are capable ; but this improvement should be immediately effected, and posterity will not fail to carry on the plan to the highest improvement of which it is susceptible.

Among its institutions Bristol had a Philosophical Society, of which one of the objects seems to have been the dissemination of science by means of public lectures. Of the history of this Society the author knows nothing, and among its transactions the only remarkable circumstance of which he has heard is, that the late Dr. Beddoes was refused the honour of ranking among its members on account, as it is said, of his opinions in regard to religion. At the dissolution of this Society it was proposed to form an establishment on a more extensive plan, to unite the Bristol Library and Philosophical Societies, and to erect a building sufficiently spacious to form a literary and scientific institution which should do honour at once to the city and to the age. It is certain that such a scheme reflects a genuine splendour upon those with whom it originated ; and that obstacles should have arisen to its being carried into execution cannot be too greatly regretted. It is presumed that the regulations of the proposed establishment would be dictated by the spirit of liberality, and have for their object the public benefit. It is indeed understood that the Surry Institution is the model upon which it would be formed ; and every friend to the progress of amelioration will join his ardent wishes that the Bristol institution may emulate and even rival the reputation of its celebrated model.

This chapter ought to close with a view of the state of literature and society in our city at the period in which we are writing. This is at once a delicate and difficult task. The task is delicate, because it is inconsistent with decorum to sacrifice to heroes till after sunset; and it is by no means easy to fix upon such criterions as at once demonstrate the progress of science, of literature, or of taste. That in the present age Bristol has produced talents which will bear a comparison with the most splendid period of the ages that are gone, to us appears indubitable. To trace the steps of their progress, and to point out the characteristics by which they may be at once distinguished, are objects which excite interest, and which may be rendered sources of instruction. Among these characteristics may rank public libraries, book societies, scientific establishments, the periodical and other publications, originating in the city, or which are the productions of its citizens and of those in its vicinity. To these we should be disposed to add the booksellers and printers of the city, as means of ascertaining the state of its literature. Upon some of these subjects a few observations have been already offered, and we must compress into narrow limits what remains to be said upon these topics.

Besides the Bristol Library Society, the city has many circulating libraries. Of these, the principal, we believe, is that of Messrs. Barry and Son, and that of Messrs. Haas and Rees. In these collections are found many of the most valuable works in general literature, in biography, in history, and even in philosophy and science. The subscribers to these establishments we have been informed are numerous, and the circumstance deserves to be recorded, as indicative of the state of literature at the period in which we are writing. It is only justice to add, that the library of Messrs. Barry and Son ranks as the first in the city, in point of extent of collection. That of Messrs. Haas and Rees is comparatively in its infancy, but the progress already made is creditable to the proprietors.

The weekly newspapers are, at present, the principal periodical publications of the city. These are four in number,* but are distinguished from provincial papers in general by no features which seem to require a particular delineation. Indeed a newspaper conducted with a liberal impartiality, and enriched by original reflections or communications, is confessed to rank among the objects which are still to be desired for Bristol.

The reputation acquired by Chatterton, by Yearsley, by Hannah More, by Southey, and by Cottle, is acknowledged to have shed some degree of splendour upon the literary character of the city. In another age, the historian will enumerate those of their contemporaries by whom a portion of this splendour is still reflected; and we venture to predict, that among them will be distinguished the elegant Translator of Hesiod, and the profound and skilful Biographer of Beddoes; nor will the editors of some of the rarest specimens of early English literature be omitted in the enumeration. But we feel that here we are trespassing upon forbidden ground; and consequently, that safety can be secured only by a precipitate retreat.

Of the present state of Society in the city something shall be said, but that very briefly. The stranger who visits Bristol is astonished that it furnishes no public amusement except the Theatre, and wonders that even that is, in general, attended by so few of the inhabitants. That this however argues the absence of a social spirit is by no means certain; perhaps, even the very contrary is the truth, and that this indifference for public amusements is the result of a fondness for the social endearments of fire-side pleasures. It is indubitable, that in London, where public amusements exist in the greatest possible variety, and in every possible form of attraction, the pleasures of what may be called domestic society are by no means frequent.

* The Journal, and the Mirror, published on Saturday; the Gazette, on Thursday; and the Mercury, on Monday.

This, however is the kind of society which seems to prevail most in Bristol. The social circle in the evening is usually enlivened by guests who come perhaps even uninvited, but are always certain of a cordial welcome.

It must not be imagined that no other kind of society exists, and that balls, routs and card parties are here unknown, or that Bristol contains no societies instituted for the express purpose of revelling in the luxury of refined and scientific conversation; nor must it be supposed that the pride of wealth exerts no influence in a commercial city, where rank, derived from birth, is almost unknown among the residents, and where the talents held in most estimation are those which can be applied to the raising of a fortune. There is however a liberality of feeling, even in regard to wealth, which is every day becoming more general, and we think that the wealth which has its seat in the mind is daily rising into esteem. But we must not descend to particulars where a general outline only was intended. In these observations it may be that we have been seduced to contemplate the bright points in the landscape, but it is certain, that we have endeavoured to delineate them with impartiality. The progress of amelioration must commence with individuals; but it will proceed

“From individuals to the whole,”

during its ceaseless approaches to the highest perfection of which man in his present state is capable, and in another and a better world will arrive at its consummation.

CHAPTER THE TENTH.

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CHAPTER THE TENTH.

TO the subject of this chapter the author long intended to appropriate a distinct publication, and some of the leisure of the last few years of his life has been applied to the collecting of materials for his projected work, which will probably be entitled, "Memoirs of eminent Persons connected with the History of Bristol." In this volume therefore only brief sketches of some of the more distinguished characters can be given : these are essential to its utility and design ; but its limits will not admit the introduction of every name which has been procured in reference to this object, and which in a work exclusively dedicated to the biography of the city would be important or interesting.*.

* " In one of the papers (No xxxii.) Mr. Evans announces as his next literary task, 'Memoirs of eminent Persons connected by Birth or Residence with Bristol.' This enterprize appears to us well adapted to the character of his skill, and to be of useful example to the country. Each of our great provincial towns should undertake a local Biographicon ; since many lives occur which deserve preservation, though not adapted for a national dictionary, by the local character of their utility, or the secondary importance of their efforts ; and which, in such provincial lists, would find their proper place, and thence lend a convenient illustration to the researches of the antiquary or the genealogist."

Monthly Review, for July 1813. Art. "Ponderer," p. 312.

Of the eminent persons who, by their talents or their industry, confer a lustre upon Bristol as their native city, the first in order of time, whose name has been transmitted to the present period, is Bibert, a Benedictine monk. According to Bale, Bibert was abbot of St. Augustine's Monastery, and highly celebrated among his contemporaries for his profound knowledge of the philosophy of Aristotle, which he combined with sacred literature.* He is also mentioned by Leland, as a theologian of distinguished ability, and appears to have been skilled in all the learning and philosophy of the age. As an author, he obtained considerable reputation by his productions, which are represented to have been various; among which was *A History of the Times in which he lived*.

Great reputation however among contemporaries will not always procure posthumous fame. In respect to Bibert, few particulars of his life have been recorded; and the period in which he flourished is almost unknown, but in all probability it was toward the close of the twelfth century.

In the succeeding century, Ralph of Bristol occupied a distinguished place among those whose talents or stations have preserved their names from oblivion. It must be admitted, that in an ignorant age profound learning was by no means necessary to obtain the reputation of a scholar, nor abilities of the first rank absolutely requisite to receive the adulation which is always lavished upon genius when possessed of the adventitious advantages of wealth or honours.

Ralph of Bristol was educated in the Abbey of Glastonbury, which was highly celebrated as a seat of learning when all the knowledge of the times was engrossed by ecclesiastics. After making himself a proficient in the logic of the schools and the philosophy of the age, he removed to Ireland, and became treasurer of St. Patrick's

* Baleus de scriptoribus Brytanniæ, centura decima. Page 49.

Dublin ;* an office which not only produced a considerable present emolument, but also laid the foundation of future advancement in the church. In 1223, Ralph obtained the dignity of a mitre, by promotion to the bishopric of Kildare. He employed his spiritual authority in conferring indulgences upon the place of his education, a trait in his character which ascertains his affinity with minds of the purest feelings, in which the memory of the scenes of childhood and youth is mingled with recollections which inspire an amiable enthusiasm.

Of the productions of Ralph of Bristol as an author, one only is mentioned by Sir James Ware, namely, *The Life of St. Laurence, Archbishop of Dublin*; a species of composition which, though highly estimated in the period in which our author flourished, has long since ceased to interest.

Among the priors of the Bristol Carmelites were several characters which, in times more propitious to the cultivation of intellect, would have been the boast of literature and the ornament of science. Of these, Richard Lavingham, who presided over the establishment towards the close of the fourteenth century, is entitled to notice. He obtained great reputation as an author by his numerous productions in divinity and philosophy; and his abridgement of the Venerable Bede's history was highly celebrated by his contemporaries. Among his philosophical productions are several which demonstrate an active spirit of enquiry, and which still rank among the speculations of philosophy, such as infinite divisibility, and identity.†

Of the same establishment with Lavingham was John Milverton, a Carmelite friar. Milverton attracted particular notice by his manly and spirited defence of the Carmelite preachers, of which order he was provincial. These friars had incurred

* See Sir James Ware.

† Bale, Cen. Sept. p. 509.

the displeasure of the English bishops, by declaiming against the temporalities of the church; and as Milverton not only protected, but in some degree encouraged them in the promulgation of these *dangerous* sentiments, the prelates preferred an accusation against him before the supreme head of the catholic church. He was in consequence summoned to Rome, to answer for his conduct before the sovereign Pontiff; to whom, without doubt, such heresy must appear heinous and damnable, and Milverton was accordingly committed to the Castle of St. Angelo. In this confinement he continued three years, having sacrificed to his integrity not only his liberty but the bishopric of St. David's, to which he had been elected as a reward of his learning and piety, previously to being suspected of culpable heresy. He was indebted for his liberty to the cardinals who had been entrusted with his trial; after which he came to London, and appears to have lived in retirement and obscurity, to the period of his death, which took place in 1486. He was buried in the monastic church of the Carmelites, where a monument was erected to his memory, bearing a Latin inscription, which is preserved by Weever. A catalogue of his productions as an author, is given by Bale,* of which the principal are, a Treatise on the Poverty of Christ, and an Account of his own Captivity in the Castle of St. Angelo. Upon the whole, the character of John Milverton was distinguished by zeal and intrepidity; and in a more enlightened age he would probably have been the advocate for a more rational and a purer system of theology.

Contemporary with Milverton, and, like him, a Carmelite friar, was John Spine, a doctor in divinity of the university of Oxford. Spine is probably the English word Thorn, latinized, according to the custom of the times, and it may therefore be rationally conjectured that Nicholas Thorn, the founder of the Bristol Grammar-School, was a descendant of the same family. Of Spine few circumstances are now known,

* Bale, Cen. Oct. p. 619.

either to excite or gratify curiosity. His productions, as an author, were more numerous than important, and are now forgotten. He appears to have resided principally in Oxford, where he died in 1484.* .

Of the Society of the Kalendaries, one of the most celebrated is Robert Ricaut. His memory is preserved by several manuscripts relative to the history and customs of Bristol, which are still extant, in the possession of the corporation. Of these manuscripts, the most valuable is the Mayor's Kalendar; the design of which he explains to be "the recording of events, customs, laws, liberties, and such other circumstances relative to Bristol, as are necessary to be remembered and inviolably observed." The other MSS. are denominated the Great and Little Red Books, and contain, among many curious notices relative to the city, some account of its bye laws and customs, and a few abstracts from its charters.

Ricaut was elected town-clerk in 1479, and appears to have filled the office with great reputation, till 1503, which was probably the period of his death. He survived the destruction of the Kalendaries' library, which happened in 1466; from which period the society appears to have sunk into neglect, till at length it was annihilated by the unsparing rapacity of Henry VIII.

Among the eminent men whose skill and enterprize gave splendour to the fifteenth century, few deserve a more distinguished place than Sebastian Cabot. This intrepid navigator was born in Bristol about the year 1477. His father, John Cabot, was a Venetian pilot, and as he was profoundly skilled in those branches of mathematical science which are essential to the mariner who would become illustrious in his profession, he inspired his son, Sebastian, with a taste for similar studies, and always made him the companion of his voyages, that he might correct the theories

* Bale, Cen. Undecima, p. 68.

of science by the decisions of experience. Before he was seventeen, Sebastian had made several voyages. In the year 1494, John Cabot, accompanied by his son Sebastian, discovered Newfoundland, and returning to Bristol, laid the foundation of a commerce which has proved highly advantageous to our city, and which gave a new direction to the industry and enterprize of its inhabitants.

Upon the death of his father, which seems to have happened soon after the completion of this voyage, Sebastian, in 1497, revisited his former discovery of Newfoundland, and sailed as high as the 67th degree of north latitude; then, shaping his course southerly, he explored the whole coast of North America, as far down as the 38th degree of latitude. This part of the continent, he expressly says, was afterwards named Florida. Consequently Cabot was the first who discovered the continent of America, as Columbus did not observe it until the following year.

The reputation of Cabot was by these means deservedly extended; but in the rapid sketch which we propose to give of his actions and of his character, we can only add, that in 1552, he was particularly zealous in promoting a voyage to the north, which produced the trade to Archangel, and laid the foundation of the intercourse which has since subsisted between this country and Russia. Edward VI. took great pleasure in the conversation of Cabot, and allowed him a pension of £166. 13s. 4d. per annum. He was also made governor for life of the Russia Company, by royal charter, and he appears to have reached the eighty-ninth year of his age, honoured by his contemporaries, and in the prospect of a reputation which shall be as extended and as durable as transcendent abilities and superior success in enterprize can confer.

It is said that Cabot was the first who observed the variation of the needle in the mariner's compass. He published a map of his discoveries, which was engraved by Clement Adams, and hung up in the privy gallery at Whitehall. On this map was inscribed a latin account of the discovery of Newfoundland. Cabot also pub-

lished a work, entitled "*Navigazione nelle Parte Settentrionale*;" which was printed at Venice in 1583. His abilities, his integrity, and the success of his enterprizes, reflect the highest honour upon the city which gave him birth, because they contributed to lay the foundation of the naval power and the glory of his country.

To the name of Canyngs has been attached a peculiar splendour. The piety which in early life induced him to complete Redcliff-church, which his grandfather had commenced, and which afterward prompted him to retire from the world and to dedicate himself to the service of religion, has been deservedly celebrated. His extensive mercantile transactions, the number and the size of the ships which he possessed, his immense wealth and his unbounded liberality, would furnish ample theme for panegyric, and will transmit his name to posterity, as by far the most eminent man of the age in which he lived. But in addition to this, Canyngs has been represented as the patron of the arts, the lover of the muses, and the friend and protector of genius. He died in 1474, in the sixty ninth year of his age, and was buried in the church of St. Mary Redcliff, in which an interesting monument is dedicated to his memory.*

William of Worcester was born on St. James's Back, Bristol, probably about the year 1415. His maternal name was Botoner, and he often styles himself by both these appellations, but most frequently uses that of Worcester. He studied at Oxford, having had the good fortune to obtain the patronage of Sir John Fastolph, a general of great ability and success, who obtained a high military reputation in the reigns of Henry IV. V. and VI. Worcester evinced his gratitude to his patron by drawing up a biographical memoir of his life and exploits. He was also the first who translated Cicero into English, whose piece *DE SENECTUTE* he presented to Wainfleet, bishop of Winchester; but it appears that this literary production procured for its author neither patronage nor preferment.

* See page 209, Vol. II.

It is, however, on his work as a topographer, that the fame of Worcester principally rests. His book is published under the title of "*Itineraria Symonis Simeonis et Willelmi de Worcestre*," which was edited by James Nasmyth, A. M. F. A. S. The itinerary of Worcester is a mere note-book, and was probably designed only as materials for a better work. In it he has recorded whatever appeared to him worthy of observation in the places which he visited, without preserving any method or arrangement. Bristol was his native city, and he has given the most interesting information respecting it, mixed with much of little or no value. He has given the dimensions of every public building, and usually of all the streets in the city, occasionally interspersed with a few biographical or historical notices. It is more than possible, however, that Worcester had conceived the plan which was afterward executed by Leland, certainly favoured by superior advantages, and perhaps assisted by abilities of a higher order. But it is also certain that Worcester's Itinerary contains information which can be found in no other author. He died about the year 1484. His name, however, shall not perish, for it will always deserve most honourable mention from every lover of topography.

Few men have rendered more important services to classical learning than William Grocyne. This eminent scholar was born in Bristol, in the year 1440. He acquired the rudiments of education at Winchester school, where he distinguished himself by the excellency of his poetical effusions. For the prosecution of his studies he travelled into Italy, and became the pupil of the most illustrious masters of the age, among whom were the elegant Politian and the learned Demetrius Chalcondyles. Upon his return to England, he became teacher of Greek at Oxford, and was the first public professor of the language in that university. When Erasmus was in England, a similarity of tastes and pursuits probably induced him to cultivate a particular friendship with Grocyne; but it is certain that he mentions him in his epistles in terms of the highest respect; that "he owns great obligations to him, representing him as

one of the best divines and scholars of the English nation.”* Groeyne died in 1520, in the eighty-sixth year of his age.

William Child, doctor of music, and a composer of distinguished reputation, was born in Bristol about the year 1607. Dr. Child was the pupil of Elway Bevan, who was then organist of Bristol cathedral; a man of superior genius, whose productions in music are said to have rendered essential service to the science of harmony. Dr. Child afterwards studied at Christ-Church college, Oxford, where he took his degree of bachelor of music in 1631. In 1636 he was appointed one of the organists of St. George’s chapel at Windsor; and soon after to the same situation in the Royal chapel, Whitehall. After the restoration he was made chanter of the king’s chapel, and one of the chamber-musicians to Charles II. He received his degree from Oxford in 1663, at an act celebrated in St. Mary’s church. From his appointments Dr. Child seems to have derived a liberal competency; and from some charitable bequests which he appointed in his will, he appears to have died in the possession of some degree of wealth. He reached the advanced age of ninety, and at his death was buried in St. George’s chapel, Windsor. The following inscription was engraven upon his tomb;

Go, happy soul! and in thy seat above,
Sing endless hymns of thy great Maker’s love.
How fit in heavenly songs to bear a part,
Before well practised in the sacred art.
Whilst hearing us, sometimes the choir divine
Will sure descend, and in our concert join;
So much the music thou to us hast given
Has made our earth to represent their heaven.

* Jortin’s Life of Erasmus.

Tobias Matthews or Mathew, archbishop of York, was a native of Bristol, and is unquestionably entitled to a place among the eminent men whom it has produced, for his love of literature, and his desire to excite a literary taste in his fellow-citizens, by his attempt to establish a public library “for the use of the aldermen and shopkeepers” of the city. Matthews was educated at Christ-Church, Oxford, and was raised through various preferments in the church, to the opulent bishopric of Durham, from which he was translated to the archbishopric of York in 1606. He obtained a high reputation as a preacher, and the industry which he evinced in the exercise of his talents reflects honour upon episcopacy. From a register which he kept, it appears that while dean of Durham he preached seven hundred and twenty-one sermons; while bishop of that diocese, five hundred and fifty; and after he was an archbishop, seven hundred and twenty-one; giving a total of one thousand nine hundred and ninety-two! He committed nothing to the press except a latin sermon against Campian, the celebrated convert from protestantism to popery; who, having taken the habit of a Jesuit at Rome, in 1573, was sent on the dangerous mission of a visit to England in 1580, by Gregory XIII. Upon his arrival, Campian was distinguished by the intemperance of his zeal in propagating his opinions, and soon after was brought to trial on a charge of high treason, found guilty, and executed in 1581. Archbishop Matthews died in 1628, in the eighty-second year of his age. He was buried in his cathedral at York, where a splendid monument, with a Latin inscription, is erected to his memory.

To the memory of our distinguished philanthropist, Edward Colston, is due every mark of respect which affectionate veneration can suggest for the most eminent benefactors of the human species. Colston was born in Bristol, on the 13th of November 1636. After the completion of his education, he visited Spain, where he appears to have established important mercantile connections, because his extensive commerce with that country was a primary source of the immense wealth, of which he dedicated so large a portion to the alleviation of the sufferings of the indigent. He lived a

bachelor ; and when urged to marry, he used to say “ that every helpless widow was his wife, and distressed orphans were his children.” Colston spent upwards of seventy thousand pounds in public acts of benevolence ; and is supposed to have expended nearly an equal sum in acts of private beneficence ; because he is known to have sent, at one time, three thousand pounds by a private hand, to relieve and discharge the debtors in Ludgate. Colston closed a career truly honourable, because it was distinguished by the practice of all the virtues which ennoble human nature, on the 11th of October, 1721, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. Notwithstanding the munificence of his character, he left a fortune of one hundred thousand pounds, to be distributed among his relations and dependents. Reader ! if thou art wealthy, go and emulate his glorious example ; and even if necessitous, let veneration for the memory of the philanthropist inspire thee with affectionate solicitude for the happiness of thy species, and teach thee to “ feel for all that lives.”

John Lewis, a learned English divine, was born at Bristol in 1675. He was educated in grammar learning at the Free School of Winbourn, in Dorsetshire, and received his academical education at Exeter college, Oxford, where he took his degrees. Having been ordained, he officiated some time as curate of St. John's, Wapping. In 1699 he obtained the rectory of Acris, in Kent, which he resigned in 1706, when he was presented by archbishop Tension with the rectory of Saltwood in the same County, with the chapelry of Hythe annexed. He was afterwards collated to the vicarage of Minster, in the isle of Thanet, and in 1719 archbishop Wake constituted him master of Eastbridge hospital, in the City of Canterbury. He died at Margate in 1746. He was author of a great number of publications, which reflected credit on his industry and learning ; amongst these were “ The Life of Wickliffe : ” “ Wickliffe's Translation of the New Testament : ” “ The History and Antiquities of the Isle of Thanet : ” “ The History of the Abbey and Church of Feversham : ” “ The Life of

William Caxton : " The History of the Translations of the Holy Bible and New Testament into English. " *

Sir William Draper, knight of the bath, was the son of an officer of the customs in Bristol, and received the rudiments of a classical education at the cathedral Grammar-school, which was then under the superintendence of the Rev. — Bryant. He was next removed to Eton, and afterward studied at King's college, Cambridge. He chose the army for his profession, and in 1761 acted at Bellisle as a brigadier. In the following year he was sent to India, and the military reputation which he acquired in those scenes of daring enterprize, entitles him to rank with the most famous of Indian warriors, Clive and Lawrence. In 1763, he commanded the troops who conquered Manilla, which was saved from plunder by the promise of a ransom that was never paid. Sir William first appeared as an able writer, in his clear refutation of the objections of the Spanish court to fulfil its engagements in regard to that ransom. It is well known that he afterward engaged in a controversy with the mysterious but formidable Junius, in defence of the Marquis of Granby. To this defence Sir William seems to have been prompted by private friendship rather than by political feelings. As he was foiled, he was no doubt mortified ; but he must be allowed to have displayed considerable talents, and his motive is highly honourable to the amiableness of his character.

The services of Sir William Draper in India were rewarded with the order of knighthood, and with the command of the 16th regiment of foot, which he resigned to Col. Gisborne, for his half-pay of £200 Irish. This transaction furnished Junius with many a sarcasm. In 1799 he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Minorca. That the military skill which he displayed in India highly qualified him for this appointment is unquestionable ; but it is equally certain that the appointment terminated

* See Rees's New Cyclopaedia.

unhappily for his country. Sir William died at Bath, on the 8th of January, 1787, and was buried in the abbey-church; in the south aisle of which an elegant tablet, with a Latin inscription, is dedicated to his memory.

Thomas Chatterton, the posthumous son of a sexton of Redcliff church, was born on the 20th of November, 1752. His childhood exhibited none of that precocity of genius, which afterwards gave this extraordinary boy such a decided pre-eminence among his contemporaries. At five years of age he was dismissed from Pyle-Street Charity-school, as a dull boy, incapable of improvement. In 1760 he was admitted into Colston's charity-school, and after having remained there seven years, was apprenticed to Mr. John Lambert, an attorney of Bristol, to learn the art of a scrivener. To this drudgery, so incompatible with every exercise of the fancy, and of an influence so deadly to the enthusiasm of genius, Chatterton submitted for nearly three years. He then procured his emancipation, and immediately hastened to London, as to the mart where talents of every description were certain of procuring patronage, and fame. Expectations which were suggested only by the ardour of enthusiasm could only lead to disappointment; but that disappointment plunged Chatterton into despair, and during the paroxysm he swallowed a dose of arsenic, on the 24th of August 1770.

In the character of Rowley, Chatterton claims a place in the first order of genius; perhaps, yielding precedence only to the incomparable Shakespeare. In his own person, and estimated by productions avowedly and indisputably his own, a degree of inferiority must be acknowledged; but he still ranks among the most extraordinary characters of his age; and when his extensive acquisitions are contrasted with the depressing difficulties with which he had to contend, he must unquestionably be classed with the most illustrious human beings which ever appeared "in the tide of times."

In estimating the acquisitions of Chatterton, it must never be forgotten that he died a boy—that he terminated his career before others usually emerge from the insignificance of puerile years—that he was neither nursed in the lap of ease, nor passed his youth amid academic bowers, “distilling sweetness from the Greek and Roman springs”—but that Chatterton was the orphan child of poverty, and that his mental powers were committed to the formation of the sparing hand of charity. Unhappy child of indigent obscurity! of thee it is literally true, that—

Thy cradle was the couch of care—
 That sorrow rock'd thee in it :
 Fate seem'd her saddest robe to wear,
 On the first day that saw thee there,
 And darkly shadowed with despair
 Thy earliest minute.

In these unpropitious circumstances, Chatterton demonstrated that it is the prerogative of genius to scatter illumination even amid the glooms of despair; for spurning the chains of ignorance with which poverty had enfettered him, he sprang to contemplate the splendours of science with the vigour of an eagle.

Among the acquisitions of Chatterton, his knowledge of languages will, probably, be entitled to the first consideration. Of Latin he knew something, of French more; but what is perhaps more difficult than either, is a knowledge of that particular dialect of the English language, of which the Poems of Rowley are either an original specimen or a skilful imitation, it must be acknowledged that Chatterton had obtained considerable eminence. To these studies he added a knowledge of English Antiquities which was certainly very extensive, and in a youth, justly merited the appellation of profound. Music and drawing were among his favourite relaxations. In the last of these he is said to have made a progress that would have reflected no dishonour upon

the pupil who bestows upon this elegant accomplishment all the assiduity which attachment prompts or leisure allows. Nor were these objects sufficient in number to exhaust the ardour of a mind like Chatterton's. The abstract speculations of metaphysics, the absurd reveries of school-divinity, and the solid investigations of mathematical science, were all made tributary to his thirst of knowledge. To these are still to be added some skill in physic, a little information in astronomy, and an extensive acquaintance with heraldry. To finish the mental portrait, however, let it be remembered that these were the acquisitions of a charity-boy, who died before he was eighteen; and from the contemplation of the picture, we may form a conception of the intellectual superiority of the unfortunate Chatterton. It adds to the value of the picture, that these powers were indisputably his, and consequently that whatever may be our decision respecting the Rowleian controversy, we cannot better display our admiration of genius than by cherishing a respect for his memory.

But in no circumstance has Chatterton been more unfortunate than in the obloquy which has been thrown on his moral conduct. With the exception of the last act of his life, which no circumstances can justify and no sophistry palliate, his character combined much to excite respect and pity, but nothing to call forth indignation. From his birth to the period of his leaving Bristol, even Calumny herself has not been able to convict him of any immorality; and the only crime with which it could charge him was melancholy, or that consciousness of superiority which, however misnamed by Envy or reproached by Hypocrisy, is inseparable from genius. Of the speculative errors of an uneducated youth, tinged as they were by the dark shades of his own despondency, but probably originating in the same morbid melancholy which made Johnson superstitious, let those be rigid censurers who consider doubt a high misdemeanor, and a departure from popular creeds the worst of crimes. To the soul of sensibility, the very errors of departed genius are sacred; but the wretched moles who rake among its ashes, and take a barbarous pleasure in exposing its imperfections to

the vulgar gaze, justly merit the contempt of which they are the subjects, and are amply punished by the grovelling dulness which condemns them to perpetual obscurity.

Accept then, much injured shade! accept the humble offering which I present thee, from the contemplation of thy splendid talents and transcendent abilities!—Why have the admirers of genius delayed to sooth thy perturbed ghost by a tablet sacred to the recollection of thy excellencies?—How dear would be the consecrated spot to every mind susceptible of the pleasures of poesy!—To thy reputation it is acknowledged that the ‘storied urn or animated bust’ is unnecessary; because that will endure as long as veneration of genius shall constitute an amiable quality inseparable from superior minds; but a tablet inscribed with thy name might be made the means of transmitting a lesson to posterity, and save some future Chatterton from despair.

Ann Yearsley, the distinguished milkwoman of Bristol, whose wild but interesting poetic effusions conferred no ordinary degree of celebrity upon her name, was born about the year 1756. She commenced the career of life in circumstances as humble as those in which she herself moved when she first attracted public notice; for her mother was a milkwoman of the same city. The only education she received was from her mother, except that her brother had taught her to write. But this education was so extremely contracted, that at the age of eight and twenty, when her Poems were published by subscription, she was completely ignorant of every rule of grammar, and had never seen a dictionary.

Her reading had been nearly as limited as her education had been contracted. Of Dryden, Spenser, Thomson, and Prior, she knew nothing, not even their name. Of Pope she had read only the *Eloisa*. With the *Night-Thoughts* and *Paradise Lost* she was well acquainted, but was astonished to be informed that Milton and Young had written any thing else. She had perused a few of Shake-

spears's plays, and spoke with poetic rapture of a translation of the Georgics, which she had read with peculiar delight.

In the sacred poetry of the Hebrews, however, she was well versed, and by its study she had improved her imagination, cultivated her taste, and acquired a dignity and elevation of language, which give a peculiar charm to the wild and simple productions of her genius.

Such was Mrs. Yearsley, when she first attracted the public attention. She appears afterward to have attempted to remedy the defects of her early education, and to have improved her mind by more extended reading. She kept a circulating-library for some years under the piazza at the Bristol Hotwells, and frequently appeared before the world as an author. Her subsequent productions are perhaps more polished and correct than the Poems which she first published, but they seem to contain less of the splendour and vigour of original genius.

Mrs. Yearsley's Poems appeared in 1785, in one volume quarto. In 1787 she published a second collection of Poems on various subjects. In 1788 she wrote a short Poem on the Inhumanity of the Slave-Trade; in 1790, Stanzas of Woe, addressed to Levi Ames, Esq. Mayor of Bristol. In 1795 she published a Novel in four volumes, called the Royal Captives, founded on the History of the Iron Mask, which she adapted to the idea of his being the twin-brother of Louis 15th. She deviates, however, very greatly from the most prevalent conception of this mysterious personage, and makes him a husband and a father; which affords her an opportunity of introducing the adventures of his wife and son. In 1789 she produced an Historical Tragedy, which was performed at the Bristol and Bath Theatres, called Earl Godwin; it was printed in quarto, 1791. She left the Wells some time before her death; but

of her subsequent history the author only knows that she breathed her last sigh in peace, in the bosom of her family, at Melksham, in Wiltshire, on the 8th of May 1806.

Contemporary with Chatterton and Mrs. Yearsley was that lovely but unfortunate daughter of Genius, Mrs. Mary Robinson, who was born in the minster-house near Bristol cathedral, on the 27th of November, 1758. The events of her life are still subjects of notoriety, and are delineated in her *Memoirs*.* All the circumstances in which she was placed, from the commencement of her career, were extremely unpropitious to her virtue and her peace; let her errors, therefore, be mentioned with pity, but let them teach circumspection to the daughters of beauty. The sombre melancholy which brooded over her life, from the twenty-fourth year of her age, which aggravated the pains of disease, and flung its dark shadows to obscure her setting sun, impressively teaches that by deviating from our duty, we madly renounce our happiness. Mrs. Robinson died on the 26th of December 1800, and was buried in Old Windsor church-yard. The sweetness and elegance of her poetical productions procured her the appellation of the British Sappho, and still render her effusions favourite relaxations with the lovers of poesy.

To these sketches of eminent persons of the ages that are gone, painful necessity compels us to add two names from among our contemporaries; those of Roberts and Worgan. William Isaac Roberts was born on the 8th of May, 1796. His early education was in no respect favourable to the expansion of his intellectual powers. He soon became sensible of the deficiency, and applied all the energy of his superior mind to remedy the defect. His days were devoted to business, and the hours which should have been given to relaxation, or to rest, were rigidly applied to study: It must be recorded as the prominent feature in the character of Roberts, that he sought

* *Memoirs of the late Mrs. Mary Robinson, written by herself, with some Posthumous Pieces; in four volumes.*

reputation neither in the indulgence of eccentricity nor in the dereliction of the duties of his station ; but that he sacrificed the sprightly hours of youth to employments uncongenial with his taste and incompatible with his happiness, because he deemed the sacrifice the dictate of duty, and essential to the happiness of a mother. Peace to his gentle spirit ! and the fame for which he panted shall duteously attend upon his memory, for his virtues and his genius have consecrated his name to an unfading reputation.

John Dawes Worgan was born in Bristol, on the 8th of November, 1791. He gave early indications of superior talents, and the circumstances in which he was placed were in general propitious to their cultivation. The assiduity, however, with which he devoted himself to intellectual improvement, deserves the highest praise ; and had his life been extended to a longer period, it is highly probable that Worgan would have obtained an eminent distinction among his contemporaries. But this was not permitted him ; for he fell a victim to consumption, in the nineteenth year of his age. A volume of *Select Poems*, with some particulars of his life, has been published by Mr. Hayley, who has honoured the memory of this interesting youth with an elegy on his death.* Persevering industry, opening genius, and ardent piety, have consecrated the name of Worgan to reputation, and will continue to endear his memory, as long as a regard for these excellencies shall be inseparable from amiable and superior minds.

To these biographical sketches of eminent characters, many of our readers will probably be of opinion that we ought to add a notice of the late Thomas Eagles,

* *Poems and Letters*, by W. I. Roberts, and *The Ponderer*, No. 20, p. 109.

* " *Select Poems, &c.* by the late John Dawes Worgan ; to which are added, some particulars of his life and character, by an early friend and associate. With a Preface by William Hayley, Esq."

T. S. A. We have declined the task, because we have been informed that a more adequate tribute will be paid to his memory, by the memoirs which it is expected will be prefixed to his translations from Athenæus. Mr. Eagles was unquestionably a man of superior talents and taste. He was the author of most of the periodical essays, published some years since in the Bristol Journal, under the title of THE CRIER. He had critically watched the Rowleian Controversy, and first published the quarto pamphlet of Sir Charles Bawdin. Mr. Eagles eagerly contended for the authenticity of the poems attributed to Rowley, and often expressed an intention of publishing his opinions and arguments on the subject. This design however was never carried into effect; probably it was defeated by his death, which took place in 1813.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX,—No. I.

NOTICE OF Dr. HOOK, AND ABRIDGEMENT OF HIS DISSERTATION ON THE ANTIQUITY OF BRISTOL.

ANDREW HOOK, M. D. appears to have been first known as an author, by "An Essay on Physic, or an Attempt to Revive the Practice of the Ancients," which reached a second edition in 1736. He is also the author of "A Dialogue between a Member of Parliament and one of his Electors, concerning the Window-Tax," the second edition of which was printed in 1748, and some other tracts on subjects of a temporary interest, which are now forgotten. Gough, in the Anecdotes of British Topography, says, that "he had the management of the printing-office at Bristol," a circumstance which seems scarcely probable. He projected a work under the title of *Bristollia*, or Memoirs of the City of Bristol, both civil and ecclesiastical; and published in 1748, by way of introduction, "A Dissertation on the Antiquity of Bristol." From some cause, now unknown, the *Bristollia* was never published, and what progress was made in it cannot be ascertained, as no MSS. of Dr. Hook appear to have been preserved. The dissertation principally embraces observations on Camden's assertion, that "Bristol rose in the declension of the Saxon government." Dr. Hook carries its antiquity back nearly as far as the age of Brennus,* though

* "Huic successit filius suus Bellinus, cujus frater Brennus, condidit Bristolliam quasi Brendlocum; et iste Bellinus condidit urbem Legionum in Cambria (nunc dicta Carleon) et Byllinsgate apud London, et Danmarchiam sibi conquestu subjugavit."

he does not assert that he was its founder. The argument rests upon an attempt to prove that the *Caer Brito* of *Nennius*, and the *Venta Belgarum* of *Ptolemy*, is the same city, and that this city is Bristol.

Dr. Hook, in recapitulating the argument of the dissertation, which is, "That from Henry of Huntingdon it appears, that in the time of Stephen it was generally understood that *Caer Brito* was Bristow," employs the following language. The Dissertation is now become scarce, which will furnish an apology for these extracts, which, with the quotations contained in the History, embrace its most important matter.

"It appears then from the concurrent testimonies of Leland, Sir Simon D'Ewes, and Dr. Gale (all eminent critics and skilful antiquaries) from Bale and Pitts, who have given us historical accounts of the ancient British writers, and from the History of the Britons itself, ending with the baptism of Edwin, A.D. 627, (as well as from the genealogy of British princes from Vortigern to Firmwail) that Nennius must have wrote about that time. It appears from Gildas, who flourished at the latest about the year 580, that there were twenty-eight eminent British cities in that age, and from Nennius, who has given us their catalogue, that *Caer-Brito*, Britton, or Briton, as it is in different MSS. was one of them. It appears by the express testimony of Henry of Huntingdon, that in King Stephen's time this *Caer-Brito* was generally understood to be Kair-Bristow, nor has it been doubted from that time to this day by any one authority that I have met with, until an eminent Prelate of Ireland, in the last century, took it into his head to fancy that Alclud, a little but

Floruit quondam apud Carleon, nobilis studentium universitas. Ibi etiam ipse rex statuit unum Archiflammen, alium London, alium Eboraco, et statuit in diversis locis de novo xlii. flamines, et fundavit templa correspondentia, et possessiones indotavit.

JOANNIS ROSSI Historia regum Angliæ.

important place, on account of its scite and fortifications, called by the Romans *Britannodunum*, and afterwards *Dun Britton*, did more nearly resemble *Caer Brito*, than *Kair-Bristow*. It appears by the strictures upon that learned prelate's note, that his Grace's remark is neither true in fact, nor any thing to the purpose of the argument. Upon the whole, then, I think it may be fairly concluded from these premises, that Nennius flourished about A.D. 630, and that his authority with respect to Bristol stands unimpeached, for any thing that has yet been offered to the contrary.

“ Here then we have an express testimony that Bristol was an eminent British city, A.D. 630 ; and if it be granted, which is but a reasonable postulatum, that according to the natural growth of towns it requires at least four hundred years for a city to acquire that title and obtain a rank among the capitals of its country, it will then clearly follow, that the antiquity of Bristol ought to be carried at least four hundred years higher, viz. A.D. 230, i. e. above 200 years before the name of a Saxon was known in this island ; so that upon the single testimony of Nennius, with the concession above mentioned, Bristol appears to be 1518 years old, or upwards of 700 years older than the *Britannia* allows it to be, although Mr. Camden therein cites the very same authority, and admits his full evidence in the case before us.

“ It appears from Ptolomy, that Bristol was a capital city of the *Belgiæ*, about A.D. 120, and that with the allowance of a space of 400 years as before, for it to acquire that character, its antiquity will in consequence be carried up to the year of the world 3670, or 280 years higher than the commencement of the Christian æra ; so that according to this account, Bristol appears upon strict historical evidence to be upwards of 2000 years old, i. e. near 1100 years older than Mr. Camden is pleased to allow it to be.”

APPENDIX,—No. II.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II. BY M. JOREVIN.

“ Most of the towns in England, situated in the internal parts of the country, are almost without walls or defences, which are to be met with only about those on the sea-coasts. Bristol does not derive much strength from its walls, except the side towards Bedminster, which the River Avon separates from the town. On this side there are three great streets, wherein are some rich merchants, and a very handsome church of our Lady of Reidcliff, built with a red stone, and ornamented round about with the figures of saints and bas relievos. Its bell and tower is high, and very well finished. One may walk on the top of the church, there being a platform surrounded by a balustrade. These three streets begin at the bridge over this river; it is covered with houses and shops, and here dwell the richest merchants of the town. Near this place is a pleasant walk, in a beautiful meadow by the river-side. Having passed the bridge, you come to a great arcade supporting a little church, with a clock and tower on it, which makes the entry into several handsome streets, leading to all parts of the town; that in the middle is the principal, and forms an open area or market-place, wherein stand the Town-House, and Exchange. The street called *Monis** street is of equal magnitude; it passes by an area, where some markets are held, and

* *Monis*, perhaps Mount or High-Street.

wherein are some covered market-houses; this crosses another street, which runs behind the grand port and quay. I lodged in the house of a Fleming, where I was pretty well entertained, both man and horse, for two shillings. Indeed all over England living is very reasonable, provided you drink but little wine, which in this country is very dear. The little river which makes the great port, separates a small part of the town, to which the way lies over a stone bridge; it is situated on the declivity of a mountain, where formerly stood a strong castle, commanding the whole town: at present its place is occupied by the Cathedral church of St. Augustine, ornamented with a high tower.

“I walked from thence to the port of Conguerol, in the village Depill, where those large vessels stop, that, for want of water, cannot come up to the town, from which it is distant three miles. By the way, on the banks of the river, I found a medicinal spring, near a small house, in which dwelt a man who explained to us its wonders and qualities; which made me recollect those at Bath, a town only six miles from Bristol, and situated on the same river, where are baths, whose waters are hot in some places and cold in others. The king has a place there appropriated for his bathing, round about which are several admirable pieces of sculpture. The metropolitan church in the same city is among the finest in England; it is represented in the forty wonders of this kingdom. The ordinary walk of the people of Bristol is in a meadow at the end of the peninsula of the town, where the two ports join, on account of many fine rows of trees, and its being a place proper for ship-building.

“The Fleming at whose house I lodged long kept a priest, who secretly said mass in his house; but it having been discovered, he was forbidden to do it; so that at present one cannot hear mass at Bristol, although it is a port frequented by many catholics, Flemish, French, Spaniards, and Portuguese. At Bristol one may

procure a passage to Ireland, vessels loaded with coal or iron frequently sailing from that place to Cork, or Kinsale, which are good sea-ports in Ireland. I was desirous of seeing, before I went thither, all that part of England watered by that beautiful river Severn, which passes through some of the most considerable towns in the kingdom. I left Bristol to go to Glochester; the way lay through meadows, by the side of a small river; whence I entered into the mountains, where I found Stebleton, Embrok, Terenton, Stoon, Nieuport, Kemlrig, and afterwards came to a river at Estminster; and from thence I arrived, through meadows, at Glochester."

APPENDIX,—No. III.

CURIOUS DESCRIPTION OF BRISTOL BY AN EARLY WRITER.

Bristol or Bright-stow, i. e. Illustrious Dwelling, is divided by the river Avon, and pleasantly situated on the rising of a hill. The buildings are fair and firm; the streets cleanly kept. The city answereth its name chiefly for having bred many Eminent Persons. It is a liberty of itself, though it standeth both in Somersetshire and Gloucestershire. There are Diamonds (though somewhat dim) produced at St. Vincent's Rock, near to this City. Of Manufactures, Grey Sope was anciently made only in this City. As for buildings, Ratcliff-Church is the best parish-church in England. It was first founded by Cannings, first a merchant, then a priest. St. Augustine's Church is better accommodated with public buildings about it, for the See of the Bishop. Under St. Vincent's Rock, on the west of the city, there is St. Vincent's Well, the waters whereof run through some mineral of iron, and are sovereign for sores and sicknesses, being washed in it, or taken inwardly. The beer brew'd thereof is wholesome against the spleen. If it should chance the crudity of the waters trouble the stomach, there is a remedy in this city, and that is Bristol Milk (a proverb) or Sherry Sack, which the courteous Inhabitants present to all Strangers when first visiting their city.

APPENDIX,—No. IV.

TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE TOMB OF ARCH- BISHOP MATTHEW IN YORK CATHEDRAL.

Tobias Matthew, descended from the illustrious family of the Matthews in Wales, was born at Bristol, and educated at Oxford. When he had united the knowledge of theology to that of polite literature, he immediately entered upon the public service of the church, and became equally celebrated in the city, the country, the college, and the palace: nor will Greece hereafter have more to boast of her Chrysostom, than England of her Matthew. He was immediately known to queen Elizabeth, and was in great esteem with that princess. There was no preacher that she heard with more pleasure, or commended with more warmth. In the 28th year of his age, he was made head of the college of St. John Baptist, Oxford, and at the same time archdeacon in the church of Wells, and canon of Christ-church, to the deanery of which he was soon after promoted. At length, having enjoyed all the honours of the university, he was made dean of Durham. After a few years, the deanery became too small a dignity for his growing reputation; and such was the queen's favour towards him, that he was created bishop of Durham. When he had presided about twelve years in this see, he was translated

by king James to the archbishopric of York. So great a genius, whatever course it took, could not stop short of the highest attainments in it. These were the steps by which he arrived at so elevated a station. The virtues by which he adorned it this monument cannot contain: they exceed the province of the sculptor; history alone can do them justice. Among other things, his singular hospitality ought to be recorded: his house was a perpetual scene of entertainment for the rich and of charity to the poor. It was a singular felicity to this see, that though he was in his 60th year when he took possession of it, he held it for twenty-two years. That rich vein of eloquence that he possessed was not impoverished even in extreme old age. After he was 70 years old, there was no one that preached more constantly, more successfully, or more acceptably. When his strength became unequal to these public services, he immediately began to languish, as if he had lived by that breath alone which he spent in preaching the word of God, and was unwilling to survive these studies and these labours. Having lived a long, excellent, and happy life, he calmly departed out of it, on the 29th of March, 1628, in the 83d year of his age. The body which he has put off, brought hither in the midst of universal lamentation and regret, is waiting for the coming of Christ, and the return of the soul. Passenger! do not think that he derives any honour from this stately marble: what is here deposited is nobler than the noblest monument. To this marble sepulchre, and to this sacred temple, the name of Matthew is a monument that will survive the strongest fabric, and the most durable materials.

APPENDIX,—No. V.

EXTRACT FROM AN OLD BRISTOL NEWSPAPER, RELATIVE TO SIR JOHN DUDDLESTONE.

Prince George of Denmark, the nominal King, consort to Queen Anne, in passing through this city, appeared on the Exchange, attended only by one gentleman, a military officer, and remained there till the merchants had pretty generally withdrawn; not one of them having sufficient resolution to speak to him, as perhaps they might not be prepared to ask such a guest to their houses. But this was not the case with all who saw him; for a person whose name was John Duddlestone, a bodice-maker, who lived at or near where Mr. J. R. Lucas now lives, (in Cornstreet)* went up and asked him, if he was not the husband of the Queen; who informed him he was. J. Duddlestone told him, he had observed, with a good deal of concern, that none of the merchants had invited him home to dinner, telling him he did not apprehend it was for want of love to the Queen or to him, but because they did not consider themselves prepared to entertain so great a man; but he was ashamed to think of his dining at an inn, and requested him to go and dine with him, and bring the gentleman along with him, informing him that he had a piece of good beef and a plum-pudding, and ale of his dame's own brewing. The Prince admired the loyalty of the man, and though he had bespoke a dinner at the White

*This is probably now the house of Messrs. Norton & Son, booksellers.

Lion, went with him; and when they got to the house, Duddlestone called his wife, who was up stairs, desiring her to put on a clean apron and come down, for the Queen's husband and another gentleman were come to dine with them; she accordingly came with a clean blue apron, and was immediately saluted by the Prince. In course of the dinner, the Prince asked him if he ever went to London? He said, that since the ladies had worn stays instead of bodices, he sometimes went to buy whalebone; whereupon the Prince desired him to take his wife with him when he went again, at the same time giving him a card, to facilitate his introduction to him at court.

In the course of a little time, he took his wife behind him to London, and with the assistance of the card, found easy admittance to the Prince; and by him they were introduced to the Queen, who invited them to an approaching public dinner, informing them that they must have new cloaths for the occasion, allowing them to choose for themselves; so they each chose *purple velvet*, such as the Prince had then on, which was accordingly provided for them; and in that dress they were introduced by the Queen herself, as the most loyal persons in the city of Bristol, and the only ones in that city who had invited the Prince her husband to their house: and after the entertainment, the Queen, desiring *him* to kneel down, laid a sword on his head, and (to use Lady Duddlestone's own words) said to him, "*Ston up, Sir Jan.*" He was offered money, or a place under government; but he did not choose to accept of either, informing the Queen that he had *fifty pounds* out at use, and he apprehended that the number of people he saw about her must be very expensive. The Queen however made Lady Duddlestone a present of her gold watch from her side; which *my Lady* considered as no small ornament, when she went to market, suspended *over a blue apron*.*

* Sir John Duddlestone was created Baronet on the 11th of January 1691. He was an eminent tobacco-merchant, and with his lady, lies buried in All-Saints' Church, on the right side of the entrance from the north door.

APPENDIX,—No. VI.

EAGLE IN ST. MARY LE PORT CHURCH, WITH A CURIOUS
ADVERTISEMENT.

In St. Mary Le Port Church is placed the Eagle which once stood in the Cathedral, and which in 1802 excited no inconsiderable attention in the city. The following curious advertisement narrates its history; to which it is necessary only to add, that it was placed here by the gentleman who rescued it from the unhallowed hands of the brazier, and that it bears his name with an inscription, which records that it was presented to the church upon the express condition of its *remaining* in the choir FOR EVER!

THE EAGLE,
From the Bristol Cathedral.

TO BE SOLD BY AUCTION,
At the Exchange Coffee-room, in this City,
On Thursday, the 2nd of September, 1802,
Between the hours of One and Two o'Clock
IN THE AFTERNOON,
(Unless previously disposed of by private contract,)
A BEAUTIFUL
BRAZEN SPREAD EAGLE,
With a Ledge at the Tail;
Standing on a Brass Pedestal,
Supported by Four Lions, one at each corner.

This elegant piece of workmanship was sold,* last June, by the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, of Bristol, or their agents or servants, as old brass, and weighed 6 cwt. 20lb. or 692lb. and has since been purchased at an advanced price, by a native of this city, in order to prevent its being broken up, and to give the inhabitants a chance of buying it.

It was given to the cathedral, in the reign of Charles II. by one of the prebendaries, who had been there 40 years; and is supposed, by the following Latin inscription, (which was engraved on the pillar or pedestal) to have stood in the choir 119 years.

“ Ex Dono Georgij Williamson, S. T. B. Hujus Ecclesie Cathedralis Bristol : Vice Decani, 1683.”

THAT IS,

“ The Gift of George Williamson, Bachelor of Divinity Sub-dean of this Cathedral Church of Bristol, 1683.”

The whole of the inscription, except the figures 1683, has been taken off the pedestal, without the consent of the buyer; which he has since had re-engraved.

This piece of antiquity, which is of the most exquisite shape, is made of the

* It is said that the money obtained by this sale was applied to the purchase of a piece of plate for the communion-service of the Cathedral. At all events, the fact of the sale adds one to the instances already upon record, of the necessity that *public bodies of men* should always act as in the *public view*. It is simply to enforce attention to this principle, that the advertisement, with its plain narrative of facts, forms an article in this Appendix.

best and purest brass, and well worth the attention of ministers and church-wardens, or any gentleman or lady who would wish to make a present of it to their parish church: traders, also, to foreign parts, may find it worth their while to purchase, as a like opportunity may never offer again.

Such a handsome bird would be, as it has hitherto been, a very great ornament to the middle aisle of a church. It for many years stood in the choir of the Bristol cathedral, and upheld with its wings the Sacred Truths of the Blessed Gospel. The minor-canon's formerly read the lessons on it, and in most cathedrals the custom is kept up to this day. This superb image is now at King-street Hall, and may be inspected three days previous to the day of sale.

N.B. The purchaser offered, previous to any advertisement, to re-sell the Eagle at the price he paid for it, provided it were replaced in the choir; which offer was rejected.

APPENDIX,—No. VII.

PIECE OF PLATE PRESENTED TO MR. BATHURST.

The right honourable Charles Bathurst, after having represented the city in five successive parliaments, declined to offer himself again as a candidate for the distinction, and was succeeded by Richard Hart Davis, Esq. At a meeting of the burgesses and inhabitants of the city, it was resolved to present him with a piece of plate, in testimony of approbation of the services which he had rendered his constituents. The following description therefore eminently deserves a place in a history of Bristol.

It is a beautiful Tripod Candelabrum, of 30 inches high; for feet it has chased dolphins, with shell corners—at its base, frosted unicorns, with wreathes of flowers—its pedestal consists of three sides—the first bears the following inscription:—

“Presented to the Right Hon. CHARLES BATHURST,
One of the Representatives of Bristol, in five successive Parliaments,
By the Inhabitants of that City;
Who,
However differing in political opinions,
Cordially united in this testimony
OF REGRET,
At the close of a connexion
Which they had always regarded with satisfaction and pride,
OF RESPECT for public and private worth;
And OF GRATITUDE for the unwearied activity and benevolence,
With which his services were extended to every class of his Constituents.
1812.”

On the 2d side are the Bristol Arms—on the 3d, his own, with the motto,

TIEN TA FOY. This is surmounted by three elegant female figures, with mural crowns, holding in conjunction circles of flowers, to represent union; between them rises a chased pillar, curiously wrought, from which, branch three arms for lights, supporting a cut-glass dish, with a silver net for flowers. The cost was 700 guineas, and the weight 532 ounces."

APPENDIX,—No. VIII.

DISCOVERY OF STONE COFFINS.

EXTRACTED FROM A BRISTOL NEWSPAPER.

On February the 10th, 1814, the workmen who were making a cistern adjoining to the sugar-house in the Quakers' Fryars, between Merchant-street and Rosemary-lane, discovered three stone Coffins, about 7 feet below the surface of the ground, containing the entire skeletons of two men and one woman. The place formerly belonged to the Dominican or Black Friars, and the bodies were probably buried in the Chapel of the Monastery. The dimensions of the Chapel are thus given by William of Worcester: "Length of the choir 26 yards, breadth of it, eight ditto. Length of the nave 31 yards, breadth of it, 21 ditto." The following memoranda, among others, were copied by the same author from the register of the Monastery:—
"William Courteys made the great cross in the burying-ground. Matthew de
"Gourney was one of the Founders.—Sir Maurice de Berkeley of Beverstone
"and the lady Joanna his wife were buried in the choir on the left hand of the
"Altar.—Sir William Daubeney, Knight, was buried in the choir. The heart of
"Robert de Gourney was buried in this church." It is not improbable that the female skeleton and one of the males' lying next to her, are those of Sir Maurice de Berkeley and his Lady.

APPENDIX,—No. IX.

CURIOUS EXHUMATION OF A CORPSE.

FROM A BRISTOL NEWSPAPER.

On Tuesday the 15th of March 1814, orders having been given to open a vault, near the vestry, in the north aisle of St. Maryport Church, in this city, it was discovered that the vault was already too full to admit another coffin, without being sunk deeper. The situation is precisely under the remains of a monument, which, from its style, must have belonged to the times of HENRY VII. and has been always called the Tomb of William Little, the Bristol Grammarian—over which is a Tablet, erected to the memory of Thomas Kington, of Notton, Wilts, Esq. The oldest of the four removed coffins had been in the vault only 16 years; but all of them were quite decayed, and their inhabitants nearly mingled with their kindred dust. Upon breaking up the bottom of the brick work, and digging down a few feet, the spade struck upon a hard substance which was soon discovered to be a Coffin of Lead, being about fifteen feet below the surface, without any inscription. It was taken up, and the next morning examined in the presence of several gentlemen. The lead was of considerable thickness, and contained a thick shell, of red deal, with the interstice stuffed closely with straw. When the lid was lifted up, some gas, of a soapy odour, escaped, and the whole became perfectly inoffensive. A very interesting spectacle now presented itself—There lay, in a most perfect state of preservation, the body of a robust man, measuring six feet two inches. The flesh in some parts

resembled supple brown leather—in others it was quite white, and bore a natural appearance—in others again, it appeared fatty. The features were perfectly distinct; the teeth regular; the nose projecting; the eyes so little injured that the transparent part was still pellucid, like horn. The hands, in admirable preservation, rested upon the upper part of each thigh; and scarcely a bone of the toes was wanting. The throat was swollen very much under the lower jaw, giving the idea of strangulation. The hair was quite cut off, in a ragged manner, over the whole head, and was not to be found at all. The head itself rested upon a pillow, composed of blue and white striped tick, stuffed with feathers, not different in any respect from those in common use. The body was wrapped up in a quilted counterpane, blue outside, and worked within curiously, with red roses in bud. There was nothing resembling what we now call grave-clothes. Under the counterpane was a wove doublet, buttoned down in front with small wooden buttons, worked with thread; with long skirts, and an over-flap collar, in the costume of Oliver Cromwell's time. Under this was a fine linen shirt, with a worked neckpiece. On the legs, a pair of wove brown woollen stockings, but no shoes. Upon the hands had been a pair of leather gloves, which had fallen to decay. From the chin to the top of the head, passed a blue and white linen handkerchief, figured, and tied very firmly in a handsome knot, probably to retain the lower jaw in its place.

The body having been carefully lifted from the shell, the latter was minutely examined, as well as all its furniture, together with a quantity of hemp, forming a bottom layer:—but not the slightest trace of any thing metallic could be found; not a mark upon his linen, not an iota which could lead to a knowledge of his person. Two professional gentlemen, Mr. Richard Smith and Mr. William Goldwyer, examined the state of the subject itself; Mr. Henry Smith, Attorney, having previously made a drawing of it *in situ*. The lungs were somewhat shrivelled and black; but the

heart was in such a perfect state, that its vessels, cavities, and valves, would have admitted of an anatomical demonstration, as easily as a recent one. It was quite white, felt like soft chamois leather, and was evidently converted into that substance which the chemists call *adipocere*, being an inferior sort of *spermaceti*. The midriff was completely so changed. The liver had a yellow crust of this substance, the eighth of an inch thick; deeper down it was but imperfectly formed; and towards the centre, this organ appeared quite fresh and natural. The bowels were shrivelled, and an entire curiously coiled-up mass of *spermaceti*, appearing quite covered with crystals. The muscles in front, between the ribs, upon the loins, in the thighs, and, in fact, every where, were more or less converted into a brown dirty-looking fatty substance. The gristles were elastic; and the bones quite firm, fresh, and sound. The weight of the body had been apparently a good deal diminished, although the limbs had yet considerable plumpness.

After the examination, these remains were carefully laid within the two coffins, and replaced at the lowest part of the vault. A few relics were preserved by the spectators; and the heart, we understand, will be deposited in Mr. Smith's Anatomical Museum, as a fine and valuable specimen of human *adipocere*.

Two questions will here naturally arise: 1st, Were any means used to preserve the body? and, 2dly, who was the Hero of the Tale?—In answer to the first, it can be boldly asserted, that no cere-cloth, wax, gums, varnish, spices, or any gross embalming materials were used,—at least, they could not be detected. There is, however, one curious circumstance now to be mentioned, which is, that there was an oblong hole, of about 10 inches by 4, in the wooden shell, closed by a piece of wood, which was easily removeable. This led to a conjecture, that rum, brandy, or ardent spirit in some shape or another, had been, through that aperture, poured

upon the corpse ; and this opinion was strengthened by its flexibility ; as when raised forward, it easily retained the sitting posture. The lower part of the shell, too, was damp. Yet, perhaps, all this might be as easily accounted for by a different hypothesis—2dly, Of whom was it the body? The general idea inclined to presume, from the *toute ensemble*, that the subject had been executed. As the costume seemed to point out the time, so the history of our city seemed to mark out the man, to be either “ Master ROBERT YEAMANS,” an Alderman and Sheriff of Bristol, or “ Master GEORGE BOWSHER,” two Royalists, who were hung in Wine-street, by the Roundheads under Colonel Fiennes, about the 30th of May 1643, in spite of the strenuous interference of King CHARLES, who sent a trumpeter with a letter from Oxford to endeavour to save them. But it happens unluckily for this opinion, that in a book, called “ MERCURIUS RUSTICUS, or the COUNTRY COMPLAINT,” printed five years after the event, and now in the possession of Robert Dyer, Esq. as also in other papers of the late Antiquarian, Mr. George Catcott, entitled “ ENGLAND’S BLOODY TRIBUNAL,” giving an account of this execution, it is expressly mentioned, that “ *these two now glorious Martyrs, having thus, through their ignominious deaths, rendered their souls to God, their bodies were taken down, and carried to Master Yeamans’ father-in-law’s house, corner of Bristol Bridge, and in the evening they were both interred, Master Yeaman’s at Christ Church, and Master Bowsher’s at St. Werburgh’s.*”

In point of fact, therefore, the history of this body is wrapped up in total obscurity. It however affords such scope for curiosity, that we shall be glad to find any one who can throw but a ray of light upon the affair, either Chemically or Historically.

APPENDIX, No. X.

NOTICE OF THE REMAINS OF AN ANCIENT CHURCH, AND OF CANYNGES' CHAPEL.

In the centre of Bristol stood the celebrated High Cross, and round it were four Churches; three of which are All-Saints', St. Ewen's, and Christ-Church. The name of the fourth is conjectured (from information the source of which we do not at present recollect) to have been St. Andrew's; but it conferred no distinction upon any existing parochial division, nor does an account appear of its revenues in the published extracts from the King's books at the period of Henry the Eighth's appropriation of the wealth of religious houses. However, some interesting remains of the fabric still exist. Their site is the same with that of the several houses standing within three sides of a quadrangle formed by High-street, Wine-street, and Adam and Eve Passage. The crypt of the church is at this moment nearly entire, constructed of massive walls and arches; and the houses erected thereupon seem to have been raised within part of the outer walls of this ancient edifice, some of its ornamental architecture being still visible in the upper room of one of those houses. The door-way of the kitchen at Mr. Penton's, draper, from its shape and the style of the door itself, was probably an entrance from the crypt to the vestry or some other subordinate room. The front entrance to the crypt is by a descent of steps between the cellars of the Miss Peters' and Mr. Penton, through a passage, each side of which presents remains of the outer door, and the ceiling is formed of remarkably strong wood and stone work, doubtless the flooring of the church porch. At the end

of this passage, a pointed arch, inserted in the walling which fills up an arch of sufficient span and strength to have supported the tower, leads to the crypt, presenting a breadth and length between that of the corresponding dimensions of Christ-church and St. John's; and which was restored nearly to its primeval appearance, a few years since, by Messrs. Clift and Sons, who cleared away the several modern divisions into cellars, with the design of converting it into a ware-room. A few yards within the entrance on the left hand side is an original aperture, leading upward to the vestry door-way above noticed. Farther onward, a hole is rudely broken near the centre of the arch, for the admission of light from a paved court belonging to Messrs. Savery and Co.'s banking-house. In the south wall, before arriving at the transept, is the stone frame-work of an arch-way large enough for folding-doors, as leading out of the crypt towards St. Maryport-street. The north arm only remains open, of the transept, or rather of its foundation, supposing the original ground-plan of the building to have been that of a cross, and this terminates by a window underneath what was formerly a shop-window of Mr. Oldham, in the centre of which, on the outside, under the street-pavement, is preserved a niche or small oratory, in which probably stood a crucifix, or image of the virgin. We understand that the several occupiers of these remains have from time to time dug up whole skeletons, and other fragments of mortality, proving that the crypt was formerly used as a cemetery. The arches and ornaments of these remains seem to indicate the latter part of the fourteenth century, as the date of their erection.

In Redcliff-street is a chapel, interesting principally from its associations with the name of Canynges. The following description is copied from "The Bristol Guide;" to which it is only necessary to add, that the subject of the painting at the west end is the Trinity, with God the Father in the centre! and that the spacious room adjoining the gallery is Canynges' banqueting-room, in which, it is more than probable, that opulent merchant feasted Edward IV. and his courtiers, during their Visit to Bristol in 1461.

"A house occupied by Mr. Birtill, in Redcliffe-street, was the residence William Canynges. It is large, and throughout exhibits an idea of that worthy and opulent merchant's distinguished and elevated station in life. Here is also : which the respectable inhabitant of the house courteously permits the curious stranger to behold. The west end presents a fine religious painting, traced out from the original by a skilful hand, and newly coloured. On the north side is a recess, for containing water, beautifully edged with wood flowering. At the east end a bust of William Canynges; and on the south side a gallery of oak, which leads into a spacious room, at the further part of which appears a smaller one, said to have been his study. From this latter place the celebrated chest, whence the poesies of Rowley came, is supposed to have been removed to the church where the ingenious Chatterton discovered them. A monumental stone, with the following epitaph, is lately erected; and, as it occupies a conspicuous place in the chapel, it may prove acceptable to our readers :

JOHN HOWARD,

JONAS HANWAY,

JOHN FOTHERGILL, M. D.

Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name be the Glory.

Beneath some ample hallow'd dome

The warrior's bones are laid ;

And blazon'd on the stately tomb

His martial deeds display'd.

Beneath an humbler roof we place

This monumental stone,

To names the poor shall ever bless,

And Charity shall own.

To soften human woe, their care,

To feel its sigh, to aid its prayer.

Their work on earth not to destroy,

And their reward their Master's joy.

Sold by LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, & BROWN, London; Mr. SHEPARD,
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1812.

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The Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature,

No. CXI. for March 1815.
